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United Nations Official Holds Talks in Moscow

Meets Adamishin

PM1210101589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] A.L. Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister, received Margaret Anstee, assistant UN secretary general and director general of the Vienna branch of the United Nations, who was in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs.

They discussed questions of UN activity in the sphere of social development, humanitarian cooperation, and crime-prevention programs. They noted the Soviet Union's increasing role in implementing these programs.

Interviewed on Results of Visit

PM1210083189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Oct 89 Second Edition p 3

[Interview with M. Anstee, UN assistant secretary general, by A. Urvantsev: "Through Joint Efforts"—date of interview not given, first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Margaret Anstee, UN assistant secretary general, director general of the UN Vienna office, head of the UN Center for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs, coordinator of UN activities in the antidrug sphere, and secretary general of the Eighth UN Congress on Crime Prevention and Treatment of Offenders, visited our country 3 through 7 October on an official visit at the invitation of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD].

[Urvantsev] Mrs Anstee, what, in real terms, were you able to achieve during your visit?

[Anstee] Although the weather in Moscow was bad, the talks were excellent and constructive. UN activities in the sphere of preventing and combating crime have been noticeably stepped up in recent years. During our talks we concentrated on two main problems—the struggle against drug trafficking and crime prevention.

[Urvantsev] What is your opinion of the memorandum that was signed?

[Anstee] Your country now recognizes and observes minimum standard rules for the treatment of prisoners. This is a cause for joy. We have signed a very important document. It will serve as the basis for the further development of cooperation between our organizations. This will make it possible to extend the participation of representatives of USSR law enforcement organs in the elaboration and coordination of various UN recommendations and standards and ensure that your country's interests are taken into account as much as possible. In addition, it is possible within the framework of this referendum to establish direct contacts between the USSR MVD and the UN Interregional Scientific Research Institute on Problems of Crime and Justice and the Helsinki European Institute for Preventing and Combating Crime.

[Urvantsev] What is your stance on the USSR's joining Interpol?

[Anstee] Interpol is not part of the United Nations. However, without any doubt, we support all organizations which combat crime and illegal drug trafficking. As for the question itself, it can be decided only by the government of your country. In my opinion it would expand the USSR's opportunities to combat social evils at the international level. Only thanks to joint efforts will we be able to halt the spread of such a transnational vice as drug trafficking.

[Urvantsev] What is the strongest impression which you are taking away with you from your Moscow visit?

[Anstee] The warmth and cordiality of the Soviet people. It is something that cannot be expressed in words....

Council of Ministers Greets UN Forum Participants

PM1110153989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[USSR Council of Ministers message to UN associations' assembly]

[Text] To the participants of the 32d session of the plenary assembly of the World Federation of UN Associations.

We greet the participants in the 32d session of the plenary assembly of the World Federation of UN Associations.

You have assembled in Moscow at a significant time, when positive changes are deepening in international relations and mankind is passing from a protracted cold war period based on confrontation and military force, to peace based on agreement among states and cooperation in the solution of bilateral and global problems.

Also directly connected with the improvement in the international climate is the revival of the role of the United Nations, which was founded not as an instrument of confrontation but as an indispensable means of ensuring equal collaboration among all states in conditions of peace and cooperation. All the conditions exist today for such a revival, for the strengthening of the United Nations, a unique center, in terms of its universality, for coordinating the actions of all participants in the international community.

The importance of the United Nations as a world forum of multilateral diplomacy is also emphasized by the fact that mankind is confronted by problems which neither unilateral nor bilateral measures are up to solving. Only by collective reason and through the joint efforts of all the members of the international community is it possible to find ways of achieving disarmament, overcoming

economic backwardness, saving the environment, properly providing mankind with energy resources and food, and conquering deadly epidemics, terrorism, and the spread of drugs.

The enhancement of UN authority in present-day conditions and the extension of its field of activity are attracting increasing attention on the part of the world community. This is evidenced by the widening circles of nongovernment organizations participating in its work and the heightened activity of national UN associations and their world federation. The ongoing democratization of international relations has significantly increased the role of the public in solving questions of world politics, and it is the United Nations, by dint of its global and universal nature, that is the organization within whose framework the public can have a real impact on internatioinal relations.

The Soviet Union, as one of the states that founded the United Nations 44 years ago, is now attaching priority significance to the United Nations. We are in favor of strengthening the organization, heightening its prestige, and ensuring states' unswerving observance of the UN Charter and improvement of the UN mechanism in line with the new tasks which history has placed on mankind's agenda.

The United Nations can now see new horizons opening up; therefore it is more imporant than ever to have an open dialogue among all friends of this organization and all interested sides on the question of its new tasks and potential. We are sure that the current plenary assembly of the World Federation of UN Associaitons will be an important stage in the development of this dialogue, will contribute to widening and deepening it on a nonconfrontational basis, and will be a significant contribution to turning the United Nations into a genuine guarantor of the safe, nuclear-free world which is currently being created and which is based on humanitarian, human values.

We wish you success in the assembly's work and in your noble efforts to strengthen mutual understanding and cooperation among peoples.

The USSR Council of Ministers.

Baklanov Meets World Intellectual Property Official

PM1110145089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Talk Held"]

[Text] On 10 October O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met with A. Bogsch, general director of the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), who has arrived in Moscow to take part in an international forum on the role of industrial property in agreements on economic cooperation.

In the course of the talk there was an exchange of opinions on questions of the role of industrial property for the development of the national economy and the importance of ensuring legislative guarantees of legal protection for foreign partners, and in this connection particular emphasis was placed on the significance of the future USSR Law "On Inventions in the USSR." The need was particularly noted for active international cooperation to harmonize different countries' legislation in the sphere of industrial property.

Yu.A. Bespalov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology's State Committee for Inventions and Discoveries, took part in the meeting.

Physicians Congress Ends, Results Cited

LD1210111189 Moscow TASS in English 1040 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Tokyo October 12 TASS—By TASS correspondent Valeriy Agarkov:

The "International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War" movement ended its 9th congress today in the Japanese city of Nagasaki, the target of U.S. A-bomb in August 1945.

The first part of this representative forum, attended by nearly 3,000 major medical specialists and disarmament experts from 73 countries, including the Soviet Union and U.S., was held in Hiroshima, the first city to be bombed by Americans.

The tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, congress delegates said in their appeal, reminds us that unless death-carrying weapons are completely destroyed, mankind will remain their hostage.

The congress delegates examined current disarmament problems, the consequences of the use of nuclear weapons, their effect on people's health and on the environment during production and storage.

Much attention was paid to the role of physicians in preventing a global catastrophe. The consequences of major calamities and the possibilities for international cooperative relief aid were discussed.

A message by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev was the focus of attention at the congress. The peace initiatives of the Soviet leadership contain specific, feasible proposals, Theodore Taylor, U.S. expert on disarmament issues, told TASS. Western leaders, especially U.S. President George Bush, should react to them more rapidly. Such an approach would meet the interests of an indivisible world, he noted.

The 9th congress urged an immediate end to underground nuclear tests, the conversion of laboratories developing secret weapons into open scientific institutes tackling ecological problems, and the reduction of military budgets by 50 per cent. The congress was unanimous on the need to step up the struggle for peace and mankind's survival.

The 10th congress of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War is scheduled to take place in June 1991 in Stockholm, according to the movement's co-chairman, American doctor Bernard Lown.

United States & Canada

Yazov Interviewed on Benefits of U.S. Visit

PM1110170089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Interview in Moscow with Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense, by correspondent R. Ignatyev: "From Confrontation to Political Dialogue"; date not given]

[Text] I met with D.T. Yazov in his study on the fifth floor of a new building on Frunze Street. It is a quite spacious room. There is nothing superfluous to it. A huge globe stands on the right, just by the way in. A little further in on the left there is a table for conferences. The minister's own place is in the center. At hand here, as the saying goes, are numerous telephones, a direct link to M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Defense Council, and a panel which can be used to contact any Soviet Army military chief, wherever he is serving. On the shelves there are many books, journals....

In this study the USSR defense minister spends 14-16 hours a day, unless he is traveling. Sometimes his workday begins at 0600. Our conversation took place late in the evening and lasted more than 1 hour....

[Ignatyev] Dmitriy Timofeyevich, you are the first USSR defense minister in the history of Soviet-U.S. relations to pay an official visit to the United States. Foreign mass media placed special emphasis on this, stressing the special significance of your stay in the United States. How do you yourself assess that visit?

[Yazov] Obviously, the possibility of a visit to the United States by a Soviet military delegation was a result of the positive changes in international relations as a whole and in Soviet-U.S. relations in particular that were initiated by the new political thinking. Brought to life by the objective realities of the nuclear and space age, this thinking is also making headway in the traditionally complex and contradictory military sphere.

The visit should be viewed in just this context. Its significance is determined by the fact that, in the opinion of both sides, it served to further develop the USSR-U.S. political dialogue and to develop and consolidate the military aspects of this dialogue. These aspects are extremely important in the multicolor palette of Soviet-U.S. relations, because they are what determine to a considerable extent the approaches to resolving perhaps the most burning and complex problems of the present time—problems of national and world security, of preventing war, and of preserving and strengthening peace.

[Ignatyev] Your U.S visit lasted 5 days. To judge from reports in the mass media, those days were full of meetings, talks, and visits to military facilities. Could you speak about the most important aspects of the visit program?

[Yazov] The U.S. side offered us a really full and interesting program. Speaking of its most important aspects, I could single out at least three of them.

First, there were the meeting and the talks with U.S. President G. Bush. That was in the White House 3 October. The president inquired about the progress of perestroyka and the resolution of problems at the contemporary stage of sociopolitical and economic transformations. Certain problems were touched on in the talks with regard to disarmament topics, including those not yet agreed on at the talks in Geneva and Vienna. Bearing in mind M.S. Gorbachev's message to him and the results of the talks in Wyoming, G. Bush pointed out that the steps taken toward each other by the Soviet Union and the United States make it possible to hope that those talks will speed up and come to a profitable conclusion.

Second, there were the meetings and talks with U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker, U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney, congressmen, and U.S. Armed Forces chiefs. A wide range of questions connected with the development of Soviet-U.S. relations—along military lines above all—and with the negotiating process in the sphere of limiting and reducing armed forces and armaments was discussed. The main points of Soviet and U.S. military doctrines, the mechanism for adopting decisions on problems of defense and national security, the building and improvement of the armed forces, the formation and adoption of military budgets, and other questions were examined. I wish particularly to emphasize the frank nature of all the talks, oriented toward trust and mutual understanding.

Third, there were the visits to a naval base, an airbase, and a U.S. Armed Forces missile base and to marine and airborne troop training centers, and meetings with various categories of U.S. servicemen. Here, too, great openness was displayed. We judge this counterstep by the U.S. side on its merits. Previously, when U.S. military delegations visited the USSR, we showed them many of our facilities and examples of the Soviet Armed Forces' modern armament and combat hardware. So it is possible to note the attainment of reciprocity in this sphere.

[Ignatyev] Excuse me, Dmitriy Timofeyevich, but is such openness not likely to damage our defense capability?

[Yazov] No. Excessive secrecy [zakrytost] and the desire to draw a curtain of secrecy where there is absolutely no need for it are remnants of the past, when the stereotypes of suspicion and hostility at times squeezed out even common sense. The new political thinking presupposes the development of mutual relations on fundamentally different principles—the principles of trust without which there can be no mutual understanding. And mutual understanding is an absolute condition for finding constructive joint solutions to even the most acute problems and for untangling even the tightest knots. It is simultaneously a guarantee and an effective lever of cooperation.

[Ignatyev] You mentioned visits to U.S. military bases and training centers. We would like to find out more about this.

[Yazov] A professional military man is always interested in seeing for himself how another army organizes its deployment, training, life, and routine, how its troops are supplied, and how its personnel are equipped and trained. All these and certain other questions were answered to a certain degree during our familiarization with the U.S. Armed Forces. Describing the volume of information given to us during the visit, U.S. Secretary of Defense R. Cheney noted that it is unlikely for a single American to see in his lifetime as much as the Soviet military delegation had seen during the few days of its stay on U.S. soil.

For example, we visited the U.S. Navy air base in North Island. It is located on the Pacific coast, close to the city of San Diego, California. We visited the "Belleau Wood" amphibious assault ship and observed practical exercise maneuvers by marines in Camp Pendleton. We actually observed not only from the outside but also "from inside." What happened was that from the "Belleau Wood"—it was out in the ocean, and the Soviet generals and officers were taken there by helicopter—we landed on the coast with the U.S. Marines using amphibious hovercraft. In exactly the same way, members of the Soviet military delegation joined U.S. paratroops on C-130 aircraft in an airborne assault during our visit to the U.S. Air Force Base in Pope, North Carolina. We saw them preparing for the drop, and jumping out of the aircraft...

At the U.S. Air Force base in Luke, Arizona, we saw for ourselves the process of giving combat training to airmen on F-15 and F-16 tactical fighters and the organization of service and repair work on aviation equipment and some types of modern U.S. aircraft, including the B-1B strategic bomber. The "Thunderbirds" squadron demonstrated their high flying skills on F-16's. While at the Fort Bragg range, we observed combat fire practice using the various types of weapons with which the U.S. Army 82d Airborne Division of is equipped.

To put it briefly, the Soviet military delegation was given an opportunity to see for itself the high level of technical equipment available to the U.S. Armed Forces and the professional, moral, psychological, and physical training of the personnel.

[Ignatyev] And, on the basis of your observations, how do people in the United States treat servicemen and what is their attitude to military service in general and everything connected with it?

[Yazov] As far as we could see in such a brief time, the United States—I have in mind both the state level and the public organization level—attaches fundamental importance to the formation in the population and especially in young people of a patriotic spirit and respect for the national flag and military rituals. Active work is done to maintain and strengthen the prestige of the Armed Forces, to popularize their history and combat traditions, and to assert the high prestige of military service.

We visited the National Military Park in Gettysburg, created in the area of the decisive battles between North and South in the 1861-1865 U.S. Civil War. The atmosphere of the period has been recreated there, relics have been gathered, the defense lines have been marked, the troop positions have been set up, and dozens of monuments and memorial plaques have been installed immortalizing the names of the units and subunits and all servicemen without exception who took part in the fighting over 100 years ago. On all this we saw the imprint of a solicitous, respectful, attentive attitude. This U.S. battlefield of martial glory has been turned into a kind of permanent generator of national pride and patriotic spirit.

Both then, while we were being familiarized with the U.S. National Military Park, and now that I am describing it, I cannot think without bitterness about how little we are actually doing in our own country to perpetuate the glory of our ancestors, to educate via their patriotic, internationalist exploits the new generations of citizens seeking to be worthy of their fatherland and capable of defending it with dignity and honor! How many Civil War and Great Patriotic War battlefields remain unknown to this day, totally unmarked by memorials or monuments or even by simple obelisks, and how many sources of the people's spirit have been consigned to oblivion instead of being used in the teaching of patriotism...

I also remember another episode. At Fort Bragg the Soviet military delegation attended a traditional ceremony which I believe goes back to the old cowboy days. So, when the soldiers' choir started singing the 82d Airborne song, all those attending the ceremony rose and stood immobile in solemn silence, as they would while the national anthem was being played.

And I believe that is no accident. In the United States military, patriotic education is viewed as a very important and inalienable component of national self-awareness.

[Ignatyev] What can you say about the state and prospects of Soviet-American military contacts and their significance for Soviet-U.S. relations?

[Yazov] Until 1988, Soviet-American military contacts were spasmodic. But since spring 1988 they have become increasingly steady and regular. In March that year, the first-ever meeting between Soviet and U.S. defense ministers took place in Bern, Switzerland. Six weeks later, F. Carlucci and I had two separate conversations as part of the Soviet-American summit. There were meetings between the chief of the Soviet Armed Forces General Staff and the chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, as well as between the leaders of the different branches of

the two countries' Armed Forces. Detachments of warships from the two countries visited Norfolk and Sevastopol. Since November 1988 a plan for contacts between the two countries' Armed Forces has been implemented. There are regular exchanges of delegations from higher military training establishments, military experts, military doctors, historians, and other contacts.

This year, a fundamentally new element appeared in our military relations. I am referring to the visit to the Soviet Union by a delegation of American parliamentarians—members of the U.S. Congress House of Representatives Armed Services Committee led by L. Aspin. We are planning a reciprocal visit to the United States by members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Defense and State Security. Qualitative changes to the range of military contacts have also been introduced by the Agreement on the Prevention of Dangerous Military Activity, signed by our countries in September this year, and also by the reaching of an accord concerning notification of major exercises involving strategic forces.

As practice has shown, sufficiently sound foundations have been laid under Soviet-U.S. military contacts. These foundations will undoubtedly be further strengthened by the fundamental accord—reached during the Soviet military delegation's U.S. visit—to jointly draw up a draft new plan for military contacts in future years. It is proposed to ratify it during the U.S. defense secretary's official visit to the Soviet Union in 1990, the invitation for which I conveyed to R. Cheney.

I would like to stress that, during my U.S. visit, both sides confirmed their intention to further develop contacts and ties in the military sphere. It is believed that this will actively contribute to reducing international tension, deepening mutual understanding and trust in Soviet-American relations, and strengthening universal peace and security.

Political Analyst on Baker's Middle East 'Plan'

LD1110164889 Moscow TASS in English 1554 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 11 TASS—By TASS political analyst Albert Balebanov:

Secretary of State James Baker has submitted to the Israeli and Egyptian Governments his 5-point plan to break the deadlock and start a direct dialogue between Tel Aviv and the Palestinians.

According to an official spokesman of the U.S. State Department, one of these points provides for a Washington-mediated meeting between the foreign ministers of Israel and Egypt.

It is indicative that Baker's initiative came after Yitzhaq Shamir's cabinet rejected President Husni Mubarak's proposal to hold elections on the occupied Arab territories and to start direct negotiations between Israel and a Palestinian delegation consisting of Arabs residing both in and outside the Jordan West Bank and Gaza strip areas.

Shamir says he opposed the "Mubarak plan" because it would draw Israel into a direct dialogue with the PLO which he is eager to avoid.

This stand contradicts the political realities in the region. The Palestine Liberation Organisation is a force which can no longer be ignored, just as it is impossible to solve the Palestine problem without the PLO's participation or behind its back, sinc it is the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Having turned down Egyptian mediation, the Israeli authorities began to push through their "Shamir plan" which actually perpetuates Israel's occupation of Arab lands, deprives the Palestinians of the right to self-determination and to set up their own sovereign state.

It is not surprising therefore that the PLO opposes this plan vigorously, believing that a political settlement in the region is possible only on the basis of Security Council resolution 242 and 338, through an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all the sides concerned.

In this light it appears that the U.S. secretary of state's initiative is intended to breathe new life into international efforts to resolve the Palestinian problem and start a dialogue between Israel and the Palestinians. Naturally enough, any attempts in this direction should be welcomed, but only if they contribute to a lasting, comprehensive and fair solution of the Middle East conflict within the framework of an international conference under the U.N. aegis.

The idea of such a settlement is backed today by many people, because they regard the proposed international conference as a universal and flexible forum capable of opening up channels for effective interaction among its participants.

The "Baker plan" will be doomed to the fate of Shamir's "initiative" if it fails to take this opinion into consideration, to reckon with the Middle East balance of political forces, and continues to give unilateral backing to the strategy and tactics of Tel Aviv.

A solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict will be promoted only by recognition of the new world situation, scrapping of old stereotypes, transition from rhetoric to calm, businesslike and purposeful work to reach an accord through a constructive dialogue.

'Soviet Military Power' Reflects New Atmosphere

PM1110112589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Oct 89 Morning Edition p5

[Own correspondent A. Blinov dispatch: "The Pentagon Reviews Assessments"]

[Text] Washington—The glossy brochure "Soviet Military Power 1989," recently published by the Pentagon (IZVESTIYA has already carried a report on this), has attracted attention by its unusual subtitle—"Prospect of Change."

This publication—a collection of maps, charts, and diagrams on the state of the Soviet Armed Forces—has been coming out since 1981. It was conceived by its creator, the Department of Defense, under the previous Reagan administration as a kind of illustrated validation of the Pentagon's budgetary demands: The more vividly the Soviet Union's military might was depicted, the more convincing requests for the financing of new American military programs would look. But although the brochure is printed in full color, one color has always dominated in its assessments—black.

The latest edition of "Soviet Military Power" traditionally contains maps and charts of the "theater of military operations," photographs of ships and aircraft, and columns of figures: calculations of armaments and the "balance of forces." However, as observant readers have pointed out, there are fewer hazy photographs taken from outer space and accompanied by frightening commentaries by photo-intelligence experts and fewer diagrams drawn from memory by those who were able to "peep through a keyhole." In their place are photographs taken in a more "friendly atmosphere," the result of the growing openness in the military sphere.

An even more vital innovation is the section on changes in Soviet military policy. It gives information on the Soviet Union's unilateral cuts in the military budgeting for and production of conventional weapons. They are described as significant. It says that the new thinking has made it possible to establish contacts between the leaderships of the military departments. It gives the following appraisal: "The probability of conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union is evidently now at the lowest level it has ever been in the entire postwar period." It must be said that the Pentagon has taken only the first step in the direction of new judgements. Not all the stereotypes have been discarded. The brochure still contains hackneyed references to the "Soviet threat" and charts showing "growth in Soviet might." As THE NEW YORK TIMES has pointed out, "the Pentagon's critics have noted inaccuracies and exaggerations in the brochure which, in their opinion, are connected with the intention to request more funds for military programs." As a whole, the booklet is a graphic illustration of the difficult evolution of views in the Pentagon, whose military planners were once skilled hands at describing the "Soviet threat."

Unlike the Pentagon military experts, millions of Americans do not have to worry about the need to justify military demands. According to THE NEW YORK TIMES, "striking changes" have taken place in their way of thinking. In January 1985, 23 percent of Americans considered the main problem facing the United States to be "war, nuclear war, and defense." But now only 1 percent of Americans rank the threat of war in first place. As the newspaper has pointed out, only recently parents and teachers had said with alarm that their children were troubled by nightmares of nuclear catastrophe. Now these nightmares are beginning to diminish.

USSR-U.S. Supersonic Business Jet Project Noted

PM1210082189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 3

[V. Belikov article: "Sukhoy Experimental Design Bureau: Supersonic Passenger Aircraft"]

[Text] A delegation of Soviet aviation specialists has returned from the United States after a visit to the Gulfstream Aerospace aircraft construction company.

Business contacts between the two aviation firms—Soviet and U.S.—were set up this summer at an international exhibition in Bourges. After seeing a demonstration flight by our Su-27 interceptor, A. Paulson, head of Gulfstream Aerospace, noted: "They have mastered the secrets of aerodynamics!" At a meeting then with general designer M. Simonov, the American businessman set out his long-standing idea of creating a supersonic aircraft in the so-called executive or business class, designed to transport small groups of people—heads of major corporations, special missions, and government delegations.

Our experimental design bureau, which has opportunities, owing to conversion, to transfer some of its efforts to civil aircraft, also studied the prospects of creating a business "supersonic" aircraft. How is the future model emerging? This was discussed during foreign specialists' recent stay in Moscow.

"Although our business partners had their own rough version of the aircraft's makeup we agreed on the following distribution of duties. We are responsible for the final blueprint, constructing and equipping an experimental prototype with two Soviet AL-31F turbojet engines brought with the aid of 'Rolls Royce' to the requisite levels for noise and environmental cleanliness. The Americans have undertaken to equip 'Gulfstream-VI-S-21' (that is the name of the projected apparatus at present) with all the necessary equipment and develop the interior of the cockpit and the passenger cabin."

"What is its seating capacity?"

"This still has to be clarified, but approximately 12-21 passengers. The high economy and tremendous power of the engines first created for the Su-27 under the leadership of general designer V. Chepkin enables it to fly at a speed of 2,500 km per hour for a distance of 8,500 km. In other words, the future supersonic aircraft will be able to travel to any point on the globe in 5-6 hours with one intermediate landing."

A group of Soviet designers and specialists paid a return trip to the city of Savannah, the home of Gulfstream Aerospace's headquarters and assembly plant. The

Americans' own aircraft traveled from Moscow to the southeast coast of the United States in 14 hours with one stop.

A. Komarov, head of the experimental design bureau export department, said:

"If we had a supersonic business aircraft, the flight across the ocean would take no more than 5 hours and there would be no need for landing at all... We were acquainted at the firm's enterprise with the organization of production, where paramount attention is devoted to the quality of every component. All the components and items in the structures have an accompanying "quality control certificate." Here each worker records the operation he has performed. These records are then put on microfiche and, as we were told, stored forever for subsequent monitoring in the event of an accident or a breakdown."

"According to the assessments of our American colleagues, the technical levels of our production are very close, which will make it possible to organize joint aircraft production with ease. The difference is that Gulfstream has no knowledge of producing identical twin machines. A so-called 'green aircraft' is produced first—a flying machine with minimum equipment, which undergoes the requisite tests. It then assumes its final form on the basis of a client's individual requirements—ranging from color to the installation of a color television to receive global news."

"What are the Soviet and American groups of specialists now engaged in?"

"We are elaborating the precise flight and technological demands made on a supersonic aircraft for the next joint meeting, scheduled for mid-November. We do not have much time—we plan the first flight in 1993 and series production a year later."

Comparison of Ryzhkov-Greenspan Talks Report

PM1110184989

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 12 October 1989 publishes in its First Edition on page 4 a TASS report on Soviet Premier Ryzhkov's 11 October talks in Moscow with U.S. Federal Reserve Board Chairman Greenspan. Comparison of the PRAVDA item, entitled "Talks in the Kremlin," with the translation of the Moscow TASS International Service item in Russian headlined "Ryzhkov, Greenspan Discuss Economic Ties" published in the 11 October issue of the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 8, reveals the following variations:

First paragraph, first sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...Federal Reserve Board 11 October. He is in...(subbing "11 October" for "today")

Fifth paragraph, first sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...regarding the financial and credit and monetary system. As Ryzhkov...(providing alternative translation)

Last paragraph, PRAVDA reads: ...on this problem.

Participating in the talks were L.I. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; USSR Finance Minister V.S. Pavlov; Yu.S. Moskovskiy, chairman of the board of the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity; and also D.M. Dzhoys [name as transliterated], minister-counsellor at the U.S. Embassy in the USSR. (adding paragraph).

Near East & South Asia

Israel's Peres Cited on Upcoming Visit to USSR

LD1110150589 Moscow TASS in English 1431 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] Cairo october 11 TASS—Shim'on Peres, Israeli deputy premier, finance minister and chairman of the Israel Labour Party, gave an interview to Israeli radio dealing with his forthcoming trip to the USSR.

The deputy premier promised to use this chance for the development of Soviet-Israeli relations in all spheres.

Touching on general political questions, Peres pointed to the great role played now by the Soviet Union in a peaceful settlement of the Mideast conflict and expressed support for the Egyptian proposal to hold Israeli-Palestinian talks in Cairo.

USSR Advisers in Afghanistan Called 'Invention'

LD1010163589 Moscow TASS in English 1553 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 10 TASS—By TASS political analyst Yuriy Kornilov:

THE NEW YORK TIMES has sprung a new sensation on its readers today. Referring to an alleged intelligence report on Afghanistan, the paper claims that there are Soviet military advisers there. It says that they are clad in Afghan uniforms and are "firing Scud missiles on Afghan guerillas."

This is an outright invention. This is not the first such fabrication concocted in Washington. Early in September Peter Tomsen, special presidential representative on the Peshawar transitional government, made a statement containing similar inventions.

That canard was shortlived, however. A spokesman of the Soviet Foreign Ministry bluntly denied it in Moscow. He said that there were no Soviet advisers in Afghanistan, that there is a military attache office at the Soviet Embassy in Kabul and nothing more. And now, less than six weeks after that incident, a similar fabrication is published. Why? The answer is clear: The insinuations, following in succession and completely distorting Afghan realities, are intended to whitewash the continuing gross and increasing U.S. and Pakistan interference in Afghan affairs. Futile attempts!

36 Killed in 10 Oct Kabul Missile Attack

LD1110111889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1050 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Excerpt] [No dateline, as received]—Extremists again subjected the Afghan capital to missile bombardment on Tuesday. Around 20 rocket shells were fired at the city on the eve of the Muslim festival celebrating the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad. According to the latest figures, 36 Kabul citizens were killed and 85 injured. There were 35 deaths as a result of the explosion of one rocket at a bus stop. Transportation systems, housing, and administrative buildings were seriously damaged. [passage omitted]

Scope of Economic Cooperation With Afghanistan

PM1210102789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[R. Kuprevich, Soviet trade representative in the Republic of Afghanistan, answer to question about Soviet-Afghan economic cooperation asked by PRAVDA special correspondent Yu. Vladimirov in response to readers' letters under the general heading: "Dialogue"]

[Text]

To Mutual Advantage

"It is known that our country gives economic and military aid to the Republic of Afghanistan. I would like to know whether normal cooperation relations like those with other states exist between our countries." A. Golyshev, Moscow.

PRAVDA special correspondent Yu. Vladimirov asked R. Kuprevich, USSR trade representative in the Republic of Afghanistan, to answer the Muscovite's question (similar questions have been asked by V. Pozdnyakov from Penza, V. Chabonenko from Kharkov, and many others).

Kabul—The complex military and political situation in the country, he said, and the fierce clash between the republic's armed forces and the formations of the irreconcilable opposition have created certain difficulties in the development of foreign economic ties between Afghanistan and other countries.

As for the Soviet Union, it is Afghanistan's main trade partner, having held first place in its foreign trade turnover continuously since 1954. The volume of mutual trade totaled $573.2 in 1988. In 1989 this level will be maintained, with mutual trade being balanced on the whole.

The USSR supplies Afghanistan with industrial equipment, motor vehicles, tractors, food, petrochemical products, and consumer goods. Afghanistan supplies our country with its traditional exports—raisins, wool, cotton, raw material for the leather industry, and cottage industry goods. Deliveries of natural gas, which used to constitute the main category of Soviet imports from Afghanistan in the past, have been suspended in connection with the complex military situation in the area of the gas fields. The question of the resumption of these deliveries will be resolved as the domestic political situation normalizes.

Border trade between northern provinces of Afghanistan and Soviet Central Asian republics, direct territorial ties, and the establishment of joint Soviet-Afghan joint-stock companies and joint ventures both in Afghanistan and in our country have undergone broad development of late.

Special attention is being paid to the development of mutually advantageous trade cooperation with the Afghan private sector. Currently some 300 private Afghan companies and dealers are involved in trade transactions with the USSR. In addition, the joint Soviet-Afghan trade joint stock companies "Aftorg" and "Aftento" have been participating in Soviet-Afghan trade since 1987.

Despite the military situation, Soviet organizations are working together with Afghan entrepreneurs in establishing a whole series of small-scale enterprises in various sectors of the Afghan economy.

UN Aid for Afghanistan Leaves by Train

LD0710212789 Moscow TASS in English 1723 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Vainikkala, Finland, October 7 TASS—By TASS correspondent Voitto Leskinen:

The first U.N. Afghan aid train left this small railway station on the Soviet border on Saturday.

The 50-car train, crewed by Soviet engine drivers, is carrying building materials, medical equipment and foodstuffs, worth 2.6 million Finnish marks, which are part of the United Nations' operation Salam project.

Prince Sadruddidn Aga Khan, coordinator for the U.N. humanitarian and economic assistance relating to Afghanistan, said at a news conference here that the entire consignment was donated by Finnish firms.

The cargo includes 15 prefabricated storage houses, eight houses, 3,000 sets of storing equipment, an ambulance and 1,400 tonnes of wheat, he said.

The operation Salam Project provides for monthly Afghan aid shipments by rail from Finland across the Soviet Union. Aid supplies from Western Europe will be shipped through the Finnish ports of Kotka and Hamina.

Aga Khan said that, under an agreement with the Soviet Union, the latter will pay for Afghan aid transportation across its territory.

Lennart Mellin, coordinator of the U.N. Project in Finland, told TASS that the first "Salam Express" was a concrete example of the implementation of the U.N. Afghan aid programme.

He expressed hope that the aid and the Afghan leadership's policy of neutrality will promote peaceful settlement of the Afghan problem and Afghanistan's foreign trade and economic relations.

Bhutto Denies Change in Line on Afghanistan

PM0610143289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[Special correspondent Yu. Vladimirov report: "New Version of Old Idea"]

[Text] Kabul, 4 Oct—According to reports from Islamabad, at a press conference held there Pakistani President Benazir Bhutto rejected suggestions of a change in her policy on Afghanistan. "We continue to believe that a solution can only be found through a transitional government," B. Bhutto stated.

Some 10 days ago the Pakistani prime minister, in an interview for the American agency AP, expressed the idea of the need to abolish the official powers in the Republic of Afghanistan and replace them with a so-called "transitional mujahidin government." At the same time, judging by a VOICE OF AMERICA commentary on the interview, B. Bhutto's remarks sounded a note of dissatisfaction with the "transitional government" of Afghanistan that was thrown together in Rawalpindi with the help of the Pakistani special services. And that is understandable. First, it did not justify Washington's and Islamabad's hopes of a speedy military victory over the "Kabul regime." Second, the personal ambitions of the leaders of the "seven" and the feuding among them over the distribution of the financial resources and military aid received from Washington led to a split in the alliance. Third, the Afghan opposition leaders entrenched in Peshawar do not enjoy authority among the country's inhabitants nor even among the field commanders of armed formations operating on Afghan territory.

As was the case in February during the formation of the "government," Pakistan has now decided to intervene in renewing this cabinet. B. Bhutto demanded the inclusion of field commanders. In that event, in the Pakistani premier's opinion, it will be possible to say that the "transitional muhajidin government" reflects the interests of the majority of the Afghan people. By all appearances part of the military and financial aid that the United States grants to the Afghan rebels will bypass the leaders of the disintegrating "seven" and fall directly into the hands of the perpetrators of terrorist acts in the settlements and on the roads of the "land of mountains."

It is quite obvious that the originators of the new versions of a "settlement" of the Afghan problem American-style and Pakistani-style forget that only the Afghans have the right to determine their country's destiny. Pakistani and U.S. interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs can only help to further exacerbate the situation in the country and region.

Bhutto's Afghan Statements Said 'Contradictory'

LD0410144189 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Commentary written by Aleksandr Pogodin; read by announcer]

[Text] On Monday the world's leading news agencies published as a sensation reports that Pakistan's Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto, had urged the Afghan rebels to unite and enter into talks with the government of President Najibullah. On Tuesday, however, she told newsmen that she had made no such statement and that Pakistan would go on with its support for the armed opposition in Afghanistan. What accounts for this discrepancy? Commentary by Aleksandr Pogodin and this is what he writes:

I am expressing my personal impressions. I think that it's rather hard to refute the first report since it was based on Benazir Bhutto's interview given to the British Broadcasting Corporation, BBC. On the other hand, it's not for me to dispute her Tuesday statement, writes Aleksandr Pogodin. This evidently reflects serious contradictions within Pakistan's ruling political circles. It's common knowledge that constant pressure is brought to bear on her government, first of all by the military who bank on the endavours to topple the Kabul regime and bring to power in Afghanistan the mujahidin. At the same time, however, the position of forces realizing that it's impossible to resolve the Afghan problem militarily and favoring a dialogue between the Afghans aimed at forming a broadly based government is strengthening. I believe that this is what accounts for the inconsistency and contradictory nature of statements reflecting Pakistan's official stand.

Nevertheless, I think that there are reasons to speak about certain changes in Islamabad's approach to the Afghan problem. Witness the recent meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his Pakistani counterpart, Yaqub Khan, in New York. The two men stated the impossibility of settling the Afghan conflict militarily and the need to search for a political solution. They confirmed the importance of strictly complying with the Geneva Accords on the road to a comprehensive settlement acceptable to all Afghans. And Benazir Bhutto herself, when making her repudiation on Tuesday, said that Pakistan and the USSR had drawn closer in their approaches to drafting a resolution on the Afghan problem that could be issued on the basis of a consensus by the current session of the United Nations General Assembly. Such a resolution, she said, should aim to achieve a political solution to the conflict.

One can refute news media reports as Benazir Bhutto has done, of course, but it's no longer possible to ignore the

objective need for giving up the intention to gain a military victory in Afghanistan.

Iran's Hashemi-Rafsanjani Sends Cable to Gorbachev

PM0710145189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Oct 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Reply Telegram"]

[Text] President A.A. Hashemi-Rafsanjani of the Islamic Republic of Iran has cabled a reply to M.S. Gorbachev's congratulations sent earlier in connection with his election to the post of president of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

In the cable A.A. Hashemi-Rafsanjani expresses gratitude for the congratulations and conveys wishes for happiness and prosperity to the Soviet people.

Iran, Azerbaijan Sign Letter of Understanding

LD0710152889 Tehran IRNA in English 1345 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Baku, Soviet Azerbaijan Prov., Oct. 8, IRNA—The Islamic Republic of Iran and the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan have signed a letter of understanding on mutual cooperation in the fields of commerce, industry and animal husbandry.

The agreement was signed by Iranian Deputy Commerce Minister Hasan Kamehkhosh and Commerce Minister of the Republic of Azerbaijan Salim Bakharov on the sixth day of Iran's exclusive exhibition in this provincial capital.

According to the agreement, all commercial transanctions between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Republic of Azerbaijan will be carried out on barter basis.

All types of electric appliances, detergents, textiles, medicines, dried fruits, spices, tiles, industrial components and pvc pipes are among goods to be exported by Iran to the Republic of Azerbaijan.

The two sides also agreed to introduce a few companies in order to make joint investments, speed up mutual rade exchanges and deal with other contracts that will be signed in the future.

It was agreed that Iran would set up some shops in Baku, Nakhjevan and other Soviet cities in the Republic of Azerbaijan to display Iranian goods.

The Iranian exhibition which was inaugurated on October 1 has been warmly welcomed by the residents of Baku.

PRC Foreign Minister's Visit to Iran Viewed

NC1210100789 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary from "The World Today"]

[Text] The official 2-day visit to Iran by PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen has ended. The PRC foreign minister held talks with President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, Vice President Hasan Habibi, and Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati in Tehran.

The outcome of Qian Qichen's talks in the Islamic Republic of Iran was not unexpected. We wish to recall that the agreement on this visit was reached in early August and that at the time Iranian officials reported that the visits to be carried out would be of a friendly and constructive nature. This is exactly what happened.

In his news conference at the end of this visit, Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati said that the visit was successful and that noteworthy progress had been made in Iranian-Chinese relations. Vice President Hasan Habibi especially pointed out that the Islamic Republic considers China to be its old and close friend.

We should explain that only a few years ago such remarks would have been completely unexpected. This is because before the Islamic Republic, Beijing had relatively close relations with the Shah's regime and this inevitably led to a deterioration of Iranian-Chinese relations. The strong propaganda attacks between Iran and China continued for 4 years. Tehran condemned Beijing for supporting and financially assisting pro-Chinese groups in Iran, while the Chinese Government in turn aimed serious accusations at the Islamic Republic.

However, gradually realism and self-restraint won over both sides and in 1985 during 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani's visit to the PRC, the two sides were able to normalize relations.

Nevertheless, a certain amount of strain continued to exist in Beijing-Tehran relations. Considerable ideological differences and conflicting approaches on many problems concerning Asia also existed.

However, today the situation has changed and closeness between Iran and China has become a definite element in international policy which is being inevitably taken into considerqtion by more and more countries.

It is very clear that the commencement of friendly talks between Iran and China was not incidental but stemmed from a range of political and economic elements. Tehran is hoping for Beijing's support in the Iran-Iraq conflict. Reports indicate that this was one of the important topics during the recent discussions. Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati said: As a permanent member of the UN Security Council, China can play a part in the establishment of lasting peace in the region.

However, Beijing's stance on this is more cautious. The Chinese foreign minister did not overtly state his support for either side, and only sufficed to the need to implement UN Resolution 598.

Meanwhile, Iran and China reached an agreement on the consolidation of political cooperation on the international scene and on resorting to negotiations on various international issues on a state level. Moreover, both countries expressed their readiness to consolidate economic cooperation. Current trade between Iran and China is about $600 million. China buys between 1 million to 1.5 million tons of crude oil from Iran. According to experts, Tehran is currently China's leading business partner in the Near and Middle East.

Thus, good political and economic grounds for the further expansion of Iranian-Chinese relations have been set. Apparently the recent visit by the PRC foreign minister to Iran strengthens these positive trends.

Iran's Relations With Islamic Conference Viewed

NC1110183489 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Dear listeners: A few days ago, Kamal Kharrazi, Iran's permanent UN representative, met Hamid al-Qabid, the secretary general of the Islamic Conference Organization [ICO]. It is reported that at this meeting it was agreed the ICO secretary general would visit Iran in the near future. In this connection our commentator Yuriy Andreyev writes:

We know that there were some clouds in the sky of Iran's relations with the ICO. In 1984, Tehran completely suspended all its ties with the ICO and commenced a boycott of the organization's activities. The ICO's stance on the Iran-Iraq war was the basic reason why Iran suspended relations with the organization. According to the Iranian Government, the ICO had supported Iraq in the course of the war. [passage omitted].

Now the situation has undergone a change. The upcoming visit by ICO Secretary General al-Qabid to Iran indicates that the era of exchanging recriminations has ended. It is clear that the normalization of relations between the ICO and the Islamic Republic of Iran is not a coincidence. The resumption of talks stems from a series of events. More than anything else it may be said that the international situation has changed quite considerably. With the halt to the Iran-Iraq war, the most serious differences between Tehran and the ICO were eliminated.

Apart from this, Iran's new foreign policy—the objective of which is to extricate the country from its state of isolation in the international sphere—proved a favorable precursor for creating mutual understanding. The complicated trend of the Iran-Iraq peace talks increases the importance of creating such an understanding. [passage omitted]. It is difficult to say at this juncture whether the ICO , with its 44 Islamic member countries, will be able to play the role of mediator in eliminating the state of war between Iran and Iraq. In any case, constructive contacts between Iran and this organization cannot be discounted, especially in view of the approach of the two parties on most international issues. The ICO and Iran, in addition, are categorically opposed to the aggressive Israeli policy in the Middle East. They have condemned U.S. interference in the affairs of Islamic countries and support a solution of the Lebanese issue in an amicable manner. [passage omitted]

It is clear that Iran will also benefit from the coordination of its economic policy with members of the ICO, but it is difficult to forecast any definite changes in the relations between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the ICO. Among the ICO members, there are numerous overt opponents of the present Iranian regime. It is possible that the course of talks may be protracted and difficult. However, what is most important is the fact that talks have begun .

Vorontsov Receives UNRWA Chief Giacomelli

PM0510154589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS "Official Announcement"]

[Text] Giorgio Giacomelli, commissioner general of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, was in Moscow 30 September through 2 October at the invitation of the USSR Foreign Ministry. He was accompanied by U. Gayyar [name as published], the agency's deputy director for foreign relations.

Giacomelli was received by Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister. He was also received at the USSR Supreme Soviet and had meetings with the leaders of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African Countries, the Soviet Peace Foundation, and the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace.

Petrovskiy Holds Meetings at United Nations

LD0610111589 Moscow TASS in English 1045 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] New York October 6 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladmir Petrovskiy met Abdellatif Filali, Moroccan minister of foreign affairs and cooperation. The sides exchanged opinions on Soviet-Moroccan relations and some international and regional problems.

They discussed the situation in Lebanon, in the Near and Middle East and the present situation in southern Africa. The sides stressed the important role of the U.N. in asserting the interdependence of national aspirations and the idea of the common good of mankind, positive evolution of the contemporary world and its stability.

The Middle East situation was also discussed at a meeting between Petrovskiy and Marwan al-Qasim, Jordanian deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs.

They pointed to the importance of stepping up efforts to achieve a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and expressed hope for a constructive development of the dialogue between the Lebanese sides. There was also an exchange of opinions on the development of bilateral relations.

Later in the day Petrovskiy met Cyprus Foreign Minister Yeoryios Iakovou, during which the sides discussed a settlement of the Cyprus problem.

They expressed support for efforts made by U.N. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar and expressed hope for a stable and just settlement of the Cyprus problem, based on the balance of interests.

Further on Supreme Soviet Visit to Morocco

More on Meeting With King

PM0610125989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Guests of Morocco"]

[Text] Rabat, 4 Oct—King Hassan II of Morocco has received a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation here on an official visit. The leader of the delegation, G. Pallayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, presented the head of Morocco with a personal message from M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

On familiarizing himself with the document, King Hassan II stated that he fully shares the idea contained in it that it is necessary to strengthen the friendship and cooperation which traditionally link the peoples of the two countries. The Moroccans are following with great interest the processes developing in the Soviet Union and wish success to perestroyka, which will enable the Soviet people to advance along the path of creation, the king stressed.

Touching on the present world situation, Hassan II noted that the overall recovery of the international situation will have favorable consequences for the situation in the Mediterranean.

For his part G. Pallayev described the fundamental changes taking place in the USSR. He expressed the certainty that the Soviet parliamentary delegation's present visit will make a substantial contribution to the consolidation of bilateral cooperation and mutual understanding between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Morocco.

A. Osman, president of the Chamber of Representatives; A.R. Guedira, the king's adviser; Secretary of State M.A. Alaoui; D. Basri, minister of the interior and information; and V.S. Kudryavtsev, USSR charge d'affaires ad interim to Morocco, took part in the talk, which was of a warm, friendly nature.

Meetings between the Soviet delegation and a number of members of the Moroccan Government took place within the framework of the official visit.

During the meetings the mutual desire was voiced to expand and deepen relations in the political, economic, trade, cultural, and other spheres. Here the Moroccan side expressed itself in favor of the need to exchange experience of work and stressed the importance of holding contacts between the USSR and Morocco, including at summit level, in resolving topical international problems of mutual interest.

The Soviet deputies met with members of the Morocco-USSR parliamentary group headed by A. Tazi, a deputy from the Istiqlal Party.

Announcement on Delegation's Visit

PM0910132589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 4

["Joint Announcement on USSR Supreme Soviet Delegation's Visit to the Kingdom of Morocco"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] A USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by G. Pallayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, paid an official visit to Morocco 28 September through 4 October at the invitation of that country's Chamber of Representatives.

The delegation included USSR People's Deputies V.A. Zalomay and A.D. Melikov.

During the visit the Soviet parliamentarians were received by Morocco's King Hassan II, who was given a personal message from M.S. Gorbachev.

The delegation had a conversation with A. Osman, chairman of the Chamber of Representatives, and met with members of the Moroccan parliament's bureau, and also the chairman of the Morocco-USSR Parliamentary Friendship Group. They also had meetings with a number of members of the cabinet of ministers. They discussed topical questions of Soviet-Moroccan relations and the world situation.

In accordance with the program for the visit, the Soviet representatives made a trip around the country and visited the cities of Rabat, Casablanca, and Marrakesh.

They were given a cordial reception everywhere.

In the course of their meetings and conversations the members of the Chamber of Representatives familiarized the Soviet parliamentarians with the activity of the Moroccan parliament and informed them about the current socioeconomic situation in their country and the main directions of its foreign policy.

For their part, the Soviet representatives spoke about the progress made in implementing perestroyka in the USSR at present, the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies,

and the work of the new USSR Supreme Soviet. It was noted that the political and economic reforms being implemented within the USSR with the aim of deepening democratization, broadening glasnost, and renewing all spheres of Soviet society's life are indissolubly linked with a peaceful future for mankind, the implementation of the principles of the new political thinking, and the consolidation of close cooperation with all countries, including Morocco. That is and will be a constant in the USSR's foreign policy course.

During the discussion of key problems of the day, the Soviet and Moroccan parliamentarians noted with satisfaction the positive changes that are gaining momentum in international affairs. This is indicated by the strengthening trends toward political realism, the restoration of genuine significance to general human values, the deideologization of interstate relations, and the renunciation of dogmatic ideas, which have brought about a substantial decline in international tension.

The Moroccan representatives made a high assessment of the Soviet Union's efforts aimed at achieving the complete elimination of nuclear and other types of mass-destruction weapons and the creation of an all-embracing system of international security.

At the same time the sides noted that there are still no reliable guarantees in the current situation of the irreversibility of the implementation of these lofty goals. In this connection they advocated imparting greater effectiveness to the negotiating process in the sphere of disarmament and confidence-building, stepping up constructive efforts by all members of the international community in the interests of strengthening universal peace, security, and mutual trust, and activating the considerable potential of the United Nations and other international and regional organizations.

During the examination of regional problems the main attention was devoted to the situation in the Near East. Expressing their concern over the persisting complex and explosive situation there, the Soviet and Moroccan parliamentarians stressed the pressing need to solve this conflict and the need for the Palestinian people to exercise their legitimate right to self-determination and for an international conference to be convened for this purpose. They noted the importance of the decisions adopted at the pan-Arab summit in Casablanca this May for making progress toward a settlement and stepping up the Arabs' coordinated actions in this sphere.

The members of the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation noted that Morocco's efforts to realize the outstanding constructive potential of the Casablanca forum's decisions will continue to meet with support from the Soviet side. In this connection they noted the importance of the establishment of greater coordination among Arabs and of the creation of an Arab League Committee on a Near East Settlement for this purpose headed by His Excellency King Hassan II. The USSR, which favors activating cooperation with Arab countries on Near Eastern affairs, has acted and will act with full consideration for their interests.

Broaching the problem of Lebanon, the USSR and Moroccan parliamentarians advocated the immediate cessation of the bloodshed in this country and a constructive quest for ways to solve the fratricidal conflict. There is no real alternative to national reconciliation. Hence the Arabs' actions to find a settlement formula acceptable to all the parties concerned are assuming considerable importance. They expressed the hope that support for the Committee of Three Arab League States on Lebanon, including from the UN Security Council, may give a new boost to activity on Lebanon with a view to finding the speediest way out of the crisis.

The Moroccan side familiarized the Soviet representatives with the current situation in the Arab Maghreb. The Moroccan and USSR legislators pointed out with satisfaction the increase in positive trends in this region, whose countries have embarked on the path of establishing broad multilateral cooperation. Stressing Morocco's constructive role in this process, Soviet parliamentarians believe that the rapprochement and confidence-building among Maghreb countries will help strengthen their political and economic potential and transform North Africa into a zone of peace, stability, and accord. Moreover, the building of a "common Maghreb home" is designed to contribute to the quest for ways to find a political solution to existing conflicts here. Deputies from the USSR Supreme Soviet and Morocco's Chamber of Representatives expressed mutual interest in broadening parliamentary contacts and placing them on a stable regular footing. They advocated activating political dialogue between the two countries and developing mutually beneficial ties in the trade and economic, cultural, and other spheres. They are convinced that all the requisite preconditions exist for this.

The USSR representatives' meetings on Moroccan soil took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere. The delegation invited Morocco's Chamber of Representatives to send a delegation to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union at a time convenient to both sides. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

Supreme Soviet, YAR President Exchange Greetings

PM1110144489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] In connection with the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Yemen Arab Republic [YAR], which fell on 9 October, there was an exchange of greetings telegrams between the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and YAR President 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih.

The telegram sent by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium says that the conclusion of the Soviet-Yemeni treaty led to the further development of the tradition of friendly disposition toward one another and of constructive collaboration, a tradition established between our countries' peoples more than 60 years ago. The years that have elapsed show that the treaty effectively serves the interests of the Soviet and Yemeni peoples and the cause of peace, international security, and regional stability.

Confidence is expressed that the relations of traditonal friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation between the USSR and the YAR will continue to be strengthened and widened on the firm basis of the 1984 treaty.

The telegram from YAR President 'A. Salih to M.S. Gorbachev notes that this treaty opened up new horizons for the development of close cooperation and strengthened and deepened the historical friendly relations existing between our countries for more than 60 years.

The YAR leader expressed the conviction that the ancient friendship and constructive cooperation between our countries will continue to develop in our mutual interests and contribute to the cause of strengthening peace throughout the world.

Development of Sino-Indian Relations Viewed

BK1210122189 Moscow in Hindi to India 1130 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Vladimir Ivashin commentary]

[Text] Chinese Vice Premier Wu Xueqian is beginning his official visit to India. Our correspondent Vladimir Ivashin writes in this context:

The Chinese vice premier's visit marks the fist ever high-level visit from China to India during the past 8 years. This can be considered an important step toward developing bilateral relations. The Indian newspapers write that during the week-long discussions between Wu Xueqian and Rajiv Gandhi the borders problem will be discussed, and it is hoped that the upcoming Sino-Indian discussions will lead to progress in developing bilateral relations. The implementation of the agreements reached during Rajiv Gandhi's Beijing visit last December has already started. A protocol on the promotion of Sino-Indian trade has been signed, and bilateral economic, scientific, technical, and cultural cooperation is also developing. The joint working group on the border question has begun its work.

The Sino-Indian desire to revive their bilateral relations on the basis of Pancasila should be considered the most important political outcome of the Sino-Indian political negotiations. The principles of Pancasila enunciated by Jawaharlal Nehru and Zhou Enlai 30 years ago are still relevant; and as the basis for a relationship among nations with different social systems, these principles have now become a part of the new thinking, the new policy which has replaced the past policy of confrontation.

The positive change in the Sino-Indian relationship has been made possible by virtue of the development in international relations. The U.S.-Soviet negotiations and the improvement in Sino-Soviet ties mark the most important turning point in international relations. On the other hand, the improvement in Sino-Indian relations also influences the normalization of the situation in Asia. India and China—the two great nations of Asia—are centers of (?vast) cultural, economic, and political activities, and both have great influence on the community of nations. India is the biggest member-state of the Nonaligned Movement, while China is the biggest socialist country in Asia and a permanent member of the UN Security Council. Thus, these two nations can make significant contributions to the cause of peace and amity in Asia and in the entire world. There are many unresolved problems between India and China, but even a search for mutually acceptable solutions to these problems through peaceful negotiations, wise agreements, and mutual understanding can influence Asian public opinion and political circles. It is therefore natural that the Asian people are watching closely the development in Sino-Indian relations.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Legalization of Banned South African Groups Urged

LD1210083989 Moscow TASS in English 0609 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 12 TASS—By TASS commentator Vladimir Korochantsev:

South African authorities have decided to free eight political prisoners—followers of Nelson Mandela, leader of the African national Congress (ANC) of South Africa. Among these are Walter Sisulu, former ANC secretary general, and other ANC leaders who have been kept in prison from the early 1960s as well as Oscar Mpetha, president of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

Announcing this on television Tuesday, South African President Frederik de Klerk favoured the holding of talks on division of power in order to put an end to the long-drawn-out racial conflict." He spoke of "reconciliation", admitting that the "search for peaceful solutions" on which the ANC and its leaders had insisted for many years, serves as a key to the country's secure future.

It would be rash to underestimate the political importance of the step made by Pretoria. But one also has to take into account the situation in which the South African authorities have been forced to make that step. The apartheid regime is being increasingly pressured by the newly-established mass democratic movement, which includes all ethnic components.

The elections to the House of Assembly (for whites) of the South African parliament, held in early September, have demonstrated that gathering momentum in the

white community are forces realizing the perils of preserving the apartheid for the future.

In all segments of population and at every level there has appeared the understanding that violence can only aggravate rather than resolve the country's problems. It is also clear that without the ANC, UDF and other anti-racist organisations expressing the will of the overwhelming majority of South African people, it is impossible to restore peace and come to a united and democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Among the crucial factors forcing the apartheid regime to make concessions are the pressure of international public and the movement for the imposition of comprehensive sanctions against South Africa.

In recent months the economic situation of South Africa deteriorated as a result of the growing international isolation. Pretoria openly admits that the fear of boycott and its consequences largely explains the "liberal trends" in the political course of the present leadership.

The coming release from prison of the group of political prisoners was received by the UDF and the congress of South African trade unions "as a huge victory" of the South African people and the international solidarity movement. But the bulk of struggle still lies ahead. Despite all the verbal protestations of readiness to move toward "equality of all races", the South African Government still does not intend to repeal the basic laws of apartheid on the racial classification of people and establishing residence rules for different ethnic groups.

It avoids discussion on the future of bantustans where millions of Africans have been herded.

Making the ANC and other democratic organistions legal, the repeal of the emergency situation and of all punitive and discriminatory laws are the necessary conditions for a constructive dialogue.

One cannot after all speak of serious changes in the country while Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners remain behind the bars.

South Africa Government's 'Games,' U.S. Criticized

MB0710144289 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Aleksandr Fedorov commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] I have read a lot about the lecture games at the Stellenbosch University, where the South African political elite are trained. They say its graduates are able to find a way out of the most difficult situation. I don't know how many of the former graduates are now officials in the present cabinet. But, judging by appearances, they quite often run to political games.

The South African minister of finance, Barend du Plessis, who is now in Washington, has put a lot of effort into proving that the American sanctions against that country are having no result, but at the same time he convinced the people he was talking to that South Africa is consistently moving away from apartheid.

On this very day, as if by a telepathic link in another city, in Durban, there has been another partial integration of institutions and places of public use. Did this not confirm with the positive action the statements of the minister of finance? For those to whom this proved little, Barend du Plessis cited the decision of the government to allow a few political protest actions to be held.

Either the statements of the South African minister of finance played a role, or Washington just decided that, with few indulgences of the South African Government, the revolutionary transformation promised by the National Party in its program has by some miracle begun. The U.S. State Department has spoken against toughening sanctions in relation to South Africa. The State Department address to the Congress stressed that additional measures would not be effective in the light of developing events in South Africa. The possibility should not be excluded that Barend du Plessis had another aim, to achieve a favorable relation in his country, by its creditors, in that day when South Africa again began talks about the question of paying off its multibillion foreign debt. Taking into account that it must be paid in June of next year, there is the possibility of the liberalization of some other ugly part in the apartheid system, and there are nearly 200 of them.

The South African minister of finance's speech in Washington is only one of the political games of the new cabinet. His example has been followed by his colleague, the minister for law and order, Adriaan Vlok. He gave the order to the police to use any means to break up the demonstration in Cape Town. At a meeting in Johannesburg, he suddenly changed the tactics—the minister talked about the necessity to respect human rights and even censured the extraordinary brutality of the guards of order.

It can be agreed that after all these shows, anyone can question the sincerity of the intentions of the delegation of the secret organization of the Afrikaner, the Broederbond [Brotherhood], which met with the representatives of the African National Congress of South Africa on 1 October, although similar dialogues between the whites and Africans has helped to bring about mutual understanding.

According to the South African SUNDAY STAR the Broederbond is again acquiring a great influence over the government, and President de Klerk tactfully listens to their reform ideas, unlike Pieter Botha. If this is really so, then there is all the more unbelievable that the actions of the ministers of finance and law and order were planned without the participation of Broederbond brain's trust.

Those actions have failed to stabilize the situation in South Africa. Neither do they give hope that the cabinet of Mr de Klerk aims to give political rights to millions of Africans indeed, and not just the whites.

I do not know how popular the political games of the Stellenbosch University are with the listener, which without doubt, when it comes to play with the state of not only the Africans, but many of the whites protesting against apartheid, is unpopular and even dangerous, taking into consideration the situation in the country. [sentence as heard]

Yakovlev Says Mozambican Peace Plan Supported

MB0510064489 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1730 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] In Moscow yesterday, CPSU Politburo Member Aleksandr Yakovlev said his government supports the Mozambican Government's peace initiatives. Aleksandr Yakovlev was speaking during a meeting with Mariano Matsinhe, member of the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party Central Committee Political Bureau, who has been on a working visit to the USSR since 1 October.

During the meeting, the two officials discussed bilateral cooperation issues and the latest developments in southern Africa.

Angolan Peace Plan Assessed

MB0710100289 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Boris Asoyan commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] Nobody really believed that the process of reconciliation in Angola would be either fast or smooth. In June, with the participation of the leaders of 18 African countries and the Zaire president, Mobutu, acting as mediator, an agreement was reached on a cease-fire between the government forces and the UNITA group, and on ways to end the 14-year-old war. The ink had hardly dried when UNITA started ignoring it. No one believed that the United States, which is giving military aid to UNITA, would fully support the agreement. But who would have believed that the aid would be increased five times, and that the United States administration would openly reject the stand of the African countries, and as before, will try to achieve a one-sided advantage for UNITA.

At the recent UNITA conference, Savimbi put forward a settlement plan which practically cancels out the program put forward in June by the African countries. Incidentally, Savimbi agreed with the program at the time. His present proposals concur in a surprising way with the plan the administration of President Reagan, in his due time, tried to tangle with too. UNITA does not try to hide it—that its settlement scheme was agreed to by the Americans.

According to press reports, it is clear contacts have been established between the UNITA leaders and high-ranking American representatives, (?having met several times) in the last few months. Not long ago Savimbi met with the United States Under Secretary of State Herman Cohen [words indistinct] to have a series of talks with President Bush, Secretary of State James Baker, and a number of congressmen.

Judging from Savimbi's statements, the United States is still not sufficiently active in its diplomatic offensive on the Angolan Government and the African countries. In his own words, the main idea of Savimbi's visit to Washington is to stir the United States into taking greater offensives. It is a shame that the United States administration found it necessary to sharply increase its military aid to UNITA, especially when hopes were beginning to dawn of finding a way out of the long time deadlock of military confrontation.

The efforts of the African countries to bring about a settlement within Angola, supported by the Organization of African Unity and the Nonaligned Movement, look like being on the brink of a failure. Their calls for noninterference in Angola's internal affairs have so far not been heard by Washington, although it is perfectly clear that the success of a settlement in Angola is only possible under conditions of an [word indistinct] of interference. The Angolan people must be given the chance to settle their own problems, to find the solution which is in the interest of Angola and other people of that region of Africa.

Commentary on Kenya-Somalia Talks

EA0710212489 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Vladimir Borisov commentary]

[Text] General Mahmoud Mohammed, the Kenyan Chief of General Staff, and Hussein Sheikh Abdirahman, Somalia's defense minister, have agreed to stop criminal activities at their common border and to maintain close relations. Somalia had alleged that bandits from that country had fled into Kenya. Now, it is said that both have agreed to act against smugglers and to exchange information.

It is fortunate that the two East African countries have managed to solve their dispute quickly. Despite an attempt by criminals to create a crisis on the common border, the friendship between Somalia and Kenya will continue.

However, it is not to be forgotten that the main cause of the conflict is instability within Somalia. (?In recent weeks) a group known as the Somali Patriotic Movement has established itself in southern Somalia, close to the border with Kenya. It is to be recalled that a heavily armed group already controls a large part of northern Somalia. Western diplomats report that the Somali Patriotic Movement has begun establishing its control over a large part of southern Somalia. The action taken by the Mogadishu government soldiers against the rebels will create instability in the border area.

A special envoy of President Mohamed Siad Barre, General Mohamed Hasan Gani, left for Kenya last week. He held talks with the (?leader) of the Kenyan Somalis who give financial support to the Somali Patriotic Movement. Nothing is known about the outcome of the talks. Clearly, during his stay in Kenya, he requested that no assistance be given to the movement. He also tried to explain that political reform has begun in Somalia. A multiparty system is being introduced there and the Mogadishu Government has decided to hold free elections in December next year. Peace and stability in both Somalia and its neighbor are possible, only if a political solution is found to the problems in Somalia.

Radio Views Somali, Ethiopia Relations

EA1010114889 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 7 Oct 89

[From the "Last week in East Africa" program]

[Text] The head of the Soviet delegation to the 44th UN General Assembly, Eduard Shevardnadze, has held talks with the Somali foreign minister, Abdurahman Jama Barre. Shevardnadze told his Somali counterpart that the problems in the Horn of Africa could not be resolved militarily. He said they could only be resolved through sound thinking. According to the news reports we have received recently, world political leaders, actually based in that hot spot agree with Eduard Shevardnadze's view. As previously reported, Ethiopia and Somalia have set up a joint commission to monitor the implementation of their earlier agreement.

According to an Ethiopian Foreign Ministry statement, the foreign ministers of the two countries met and decided to establish this commission. The ministers said that Ethiopia and Somalia had gone a long way in improving their relations since April of last year. It was the view of many observers that these political developments would lead to economic matters. Whatever the case, the various levels of meetings held between Ethiopia and Somalia since last year enabled them to discuss bilateral trade and economic cooperation between the two countries. Such cooperation, besides economic benefits, would guarantee good neighborliness between the two countries and resolve the hitherto chronic problem of refugees.

The political instability of the two governments, especially in terms of the activities of various opposition movements, have been a great obstacle to the growth of their economic relations. Nevertheless, it is encouraging to see efforts being made despite these complex problems.

Discussions of the outcome of the Ethiopian Government's talks with the Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF] in Atlanta have continued. The talks are to resume in little more that a month. In a press conference he gave on Tuesday, 3 October, the head of the Ethiopian delegation to the Atlanta talks, Ashagre Yigletu, said that Ethiopia hoped that the outstanding procedural issues might be resolved.

This, he said, would pave the way for substantive negotiations with the EPLF. As is known, it did not prove possible to reach agreement in Atlanta on the following three issues: the principal and second mediators for the forthcoming negotiations, the choice of observers and their role, and the role and duties of the secretarial board [last word in English] in giving support.

The issues are of a procedural nature and would seem to be easy enough to resolve. However, they are not so simple. The Eritrean problem is not just an Ethiopian one, it also has an international dimension in that it encompasses the control of the Red Sea, in which many countries, including the Arab countries, the United States, and Israel have a vested interest. It is because of this that the choice of a second mediator has created difficulty. However, we are optimistic that the issue will be resolved, because both of the two conflicting parties have shown the desire to resolve the problem peacefully.

The news from Addis Ababa has been optimistic in another way. Comrade Ashagre Yigletu has said the Ethiopian Government wishes to contact other Eritrean opposition factions. The government is ready to negotiate with all peace-loving forces, he stressed.

In general, if we observe the conflicts between the African Governments and their oppositions, it is very clear that the bloodshed between them is never useful to any of them.

The recent news from Sudan indicates that the people there are facing sad problems. The numbers that have been disclosed are both frightening and sad. About 6 million Sudanese are facing starvation, the country's Agricultural Ministry has said. This terrible problem exists mainly in the southern part of the country. There have been 6 years of civil war in southern Sudan and 259,000 civilians have been killed during this time. Of 1,500 schools in southern Sudan, only 300 are now in operation. Of 22 hospitals, only three are functioning. The new Sudanese regime has taken steps to bring the war to an end.

A decision was recently taken to extend the cease-fire. General 'Umar Hasan al-Bashir announced the cease-fire extension in a message he sent to the national peace dialogue conference. This conference is expected to do the foundation work and produce the basic ideas on which the new Sudanese political system will be based.

It is, of course, difficult to stop internal armed conflicts. However, Africa has a lot of experience in this. In this connection, Uganda should be mentioned, from East Africa. Uganda has taken economic, political, and military steps simultaneously and systematically to stabilize its situation. In this regard, Uganda has achieved encouraging results. The main steps taken by the Ugandan

Government to achieve peace were the political negotiations it began with opposition factions as soon as it took power.

Nevertheless, even Uganda is far from completely resolving its problems with opposition factions. President Yoweri Museveni's extension of his presidency by 5 years highlights this, says our commentator. But it is not right to give a one-sided view on this decision. Although this decision will draw criticism from opposition forces, it should not be forgotten that Uganda is still drafting its constitution, which is not yet completed.

The only political organization which can lead the country in this period of constitutional preparation is the National Resistance Movement led by Yoweri Museveni. The other point which has to be mentioned here, is that the president extended his term of office, unlike some of his predecessors, with the consent of the parliament.

Petrovskiy Meets With Zimbabwean Minister

PM0610131089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Announcements"]

[Text] New York, 4 Oct—V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister and deputy head of the USSR delegation to the 44th UN General Assembly session, had a talk here with Zimbabwean Foreign Minister N. Shamuyarira. During the talk satisfaction was expressed with the development of bilateral Soviet-Zimbabwean relations.

The Soviet side gave a high assessment of Zimbabwe's contribution, as the former chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, to the positive changes that have developed in world affairs. The Zimbabwean foreign minister stressed the great significance of the new political thinking in the departure from confrontation and the move toward dialogue and cooperation as the decisive trend in present-day international relations.

Both sides expressed the desire to actively promote the fulfillment of the agreements on Namibia and to use every opportunity to resolve the tense conflict in southern Africa.

Cameroonian Official Received at Supreme Soviet

PM0910105589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Our first contacts with Soviet people have convinced us that there are great opportunities for developing cooperation between our country and the Soviet Union, Laurence Fonka Shang [name as published], chairman of the Cameroonian National Assembly and chairman of the African Parliamentary Union, said during a meeting at the USSR Supreme Soviet 5 October. The conversations that we have had with representatives of Soviet business circles, scientists, and public figures have in many respects enriched all our ideas about the essential nature of the transformations taking place in the USSR, the head of the Cameroonian parliamentary delegation said.

R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, pointed out that our country highly values good relations with Cameroon, which have never been overshadowed by any dispute, and stressed the desire for political cooperation in tackling the problems facing the human community, particularly on the African Continent. The two countries' common principled approach to the resolution of both global and regional problems is obvious, he said.

A.A. Mokanu, deputy chairman of the Soviet of the Union; USSR People's Deputies L.N. Petrova and V.I. Tsybukh; along with H. Souaibou, Cameroonian ambassador to the USSR, took part in the conversation.

East Europe

Poland's Rakowski Holds Talks, Concludes Visit

Gorbachev Confers With Rakowski

PM1210115389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Oct 89 Second Edition p 1

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev met on 11 October M. Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee, who arrived in the Soviet Union on a working visit.

In the course of a friendly conversation, a discussion took place on a broad range of questions connected with the socioeconomic and sociopolitical processes taking place in the USSR and the Polish People's Republic, and with the development of cooperation between the two fraternal parties and the prospects for Soviet-Polish relations.

M. Rakowski described the situation in Poland as it has evolved following the National Assembly elections and the formation of the new government. The main national task now is to get the country out of its long socioeconomic crisis. It is necessary to overcome the tendency toward reducing industrial production, bring the financial system back to health, curb inflation, and put a brake on the disintegration of the internal market. In tackling these difficult problems and searching for the paths of the country's further development, the PZPR intends to cooperate responsibly and constructively with the government and with the diverse political forces of today's Poland.

The PZPR, noted M. Rakowski, is experiencing a difficult period. Sharp debates are developing on its role in

society in light of the formation of a democratic parliamentary system. The forms and methods of party work are being reappraised and a process of ideological and organizational renewal is under way. The first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee reported on the results of the 15th Central Committee plenum and on the start of preparations for the 11th party congress.

M.S. Gorbachev described the continuing large-scale and varied work to bring about political, economic, and legal reform. Now that the September plenum of the CPSU Central Committee has adopted the party platform on the nationalities question, good political preconditions have been created for the normalization of relations between nationalities in the country on the basis of satisfying all legitimate and well-founded interests and in line with the development of the Soviet federation. At the present time, particular significance is attached to the activities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, on whose agenda is the adoption of a number of very important constitutional laws. We attach fundamental significance to the restructuring of the party, the Soviet leader stressed. In order to prepare for the 28th congress, which will be convened next year, its whole structure has to be substantially renewed and the work style changed. New ideas are needed, too, and new cadres, which will guarantee the party a truly avant-guard political role.

An exchange of opinions, rich in content, occurred between M.S. Gorbachev and M. Rakowski on major problems in modern social development. One of them was the need for a well-thought-out long-term party strategy. The absence of, or the insufficient working through of, such a strategy may lead to serious disruptions and mistakes. On the other hand, the radical demands that the party have a detailed documented plan of the future are unjustified. That would signify nothing other than a fruitless attempt to constrain the movement of life into an abstract scheme. Concrete decisions should be based on an analysis of the rapidly changing situation and take account, first of all, of the needs and aspirations of the broad popular masses.

Another subject that was broached in the conversation, is connected with the need, in contemporary conditions, to be consistently guided by national interests and at the same time to speak out against any manifestations of nationalism. The whole course of European and world development at the end of the 20th century bears witness to the strengthening tendency toward the internationalization of economic and social life, to the growing significance of the division and cooperation of labor, and of the exchange of the values of material and spiritual culture. The ideas of socialism fully match up to these objective processes.

Much attention was devoted on both sides to the prospects for Soviet-Polish relations. Lying at their basis—a basis which, in the opinion of the leaders of the CPSU and PZPR, is not susceptible to fluctuations in the political situation—is the common nature of the destinies and profound geostrategic interests of the Soviet Union and Poland. The interaction of the USSR and Poland in the framework of the Warsaw Pact is one of the main components of peace and stability in Europe.

M. Rakowski stressed the significance of cooperation between Poland and USSR for the national interests of Poles, the security of Poland, and its development. Our country, M.S. Gorbachev declared, will strive for the further development of varied and mutually advantageous links with Poland in all spheres. We firmly adhere to the view that our relations can develop fruitfully given the mutual respect for the sovereignty, the equal rights, and the choices made by the people of each country.

There was also an exchange of views on questions connected with international politics. Taking part in the conversation, which took place in an atmosphere of comradeship and mutual understanding, were: A.N. Yakovlev; W. Natorf, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; G. Shakhnazarov; G. Ostroumov; and J. Bisztyga.

A luncheon was given in honor of M. Rakowski on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee on the same day. It was attended by Comrades M.S. Gorbachev, V.A. Medvedev, E.A. Shevardnadze, A.N. Yakovlev, and other officials.

On the same day, M. Rakowski met senior officials from the CPSU Central Committee apparatus.

W. Natorf, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, had a conversation in the CPSU Central Committee International Department. Questions of the development of interparty cooperation between the CPSU and the PZPR were discussed during the conversation.

Gorbachev Attends Lunch for Rakowski

LD1110231589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] Today a lunch was organized on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee in honor of Mieczyslaw Rakowski. Comrades Gorbachev, Medvedev, Shevardnadze, Yakovlev and other officials were present. On the same day Comrade Rakowski met executives from the CPSU Central Committee apparatus.

Gorbachev Talks to Polish Journalists

LD1110220189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] Mikhail Gorbachev met today with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee, who arrived for a working visit to the USSR. [video shows the two men embracing inside the Kremlin. Yakovlev is seen in the background at one point. Gorbachev shakes hands with other men, presumably members of the Polish delegation]

Before the conversation, Comrade Gorbachev gave a short interview to Polish journalists. [video shows Gorbachev and Rakowski standing side by side, facing journalists and the camera]

[Polish journalist] I would like, first of all, to ask you something, Mikhail Sergeyevich. What would you like to say to the Poles now?

[Gorbachev] I would like to tell the Poles that we would like to continue what has come about in our relations over all these years, and especially during the last few years I would even say since 1980. It seems that we have not been just maintaining formal relations here [video shows Gorbachev turning to Rakowski] and technical cooperation. But cooperation began, essentially, between our parties in the sphere of culture and in the pooling of the efforts of our social scientists in order to study both the past and the present. In general, I would like all that to be continued. We take that as our starting point. But life will reveal the distinguishing feature of Marxism if (?one adheres strictly to Marxist teaching). It always deals with really developing and moving material. We will be examining that. But the fact that...[changes thought] The Soviet leadership takes a firm stand on developing relations with Poland, our neighbor and a Slav people, especially since, after the many upheavals in the history of our relations, we have, I think, embarked on a very correct direction, the drawing together of our peoples, and cooperation. I favor a continuation.

I wish the Poles [success] overcoming their difficulties, just as I wish the same for myself. [video shows Yakovlev standing on Gorbachev's right; Rakowski has been standing all along on Gorbachev's left] [passage omitted] [video shows Rakowski and three other men sitting at a table, facing Gorbachev, Yakovlev and four other men]

Rakowski Interviewed

LD1110232589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, by correspondent V. Beletskiy in Moscow on 11 October; from the "Vremya" newscast; Rakowski speaks in Polish with superimposed Russian translation—recorded]

[Text] Today, too, Comrade Rakowski gave a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists.

[Reporter V. Beletskiy] Comrade Rakowski talked about his visit and about the situation in Poland, and answered journalists' questions. [video shows Rakowski at the news conference]

After the news conference, Comrade Mieczyslaw Rakowski gave an interview to "Vremya." [video shows interviewer talking to Rakowski]

[Beletskiy] Comrade Secretary, what can you say about the results of your visit to the Soviet Union?

[Rakowski] They are very good. My conversation with Comrade Gorbachev was, as always, open and frank. Above all, I know he follows the developments in the situation in Poland with immense interest and liking, and listens keenly to the opinions on our country voiced by all people who have influence on developments in the political situation in our country and in the developments of our state. He is the sort of person who creates an atmosphere in which one can talk about the hardest problems and find common ground with him. Those are the results of the visit. I don't know whether I can speak for him here, but I think that what I said will help him to understand the situation in Poland better.

As far as I am concerned, I can say that we can rely on the support of the CPSU in our efforts to adapt the party to the situation in which Poland now finds itself, and in the cause of creating a new look for the party. In general, we can continue to lean, as it were, on the East Slav wall.

[Beletskiy] How do you assess the current situation in the country, and what can you say about its future development?

[Rakowski] As for the situation today, I think that, from the political point of view, the correlation of forces is changeable. The outlines of a more permanent correlation of forces are only just being created. I mean the political stage on which the various forces act. If one is to talk about the economic position, it still remains very dramatic and tense. As for the future, I can only say that it is still very early to assess Poland's development trends over the next few years. After all, as I have already said, the new look of the country's political forces is only now beginning to take shape.

[Beletskiy] Do you think that Polish-Soviet relations will change?

[Rakowski] They should only to change for the better, since Polish-Soviet relations play an enormous role, not only as a stabilizing factor in Europe. They have an effect on the situation in that entire part of Europe. They are also favorable to both of our peoples. They are beneficial to Poland and to the peoples of the Soviet Union. As far as our party is concerned, we will do everything possible to see that they do not just remain at the current level, but become enriched with new forms of cooperation.

More on Rakowski Remarks in Moscow

LD1110231189 Moscow World Service in English 2110 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] The first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, Miechzyslaw Rakowski, talked to newsmen after a meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in the Kremlin which lasted for 3 and ½ hours. This is what he said in part:

As a great friend of Poland and the architect of perestroyka Mikhail Gorbachev said he understands the complex situation in Poland. Gorbachev fully approved the policy toward the government of Mazowiecki, a

policy where the people's interests are given top priority. Describing the situation in Poland, Rakowski pointed to a new coalition of political forces emerging there. The Polish United Workers' Party remains a significant political force without which it is impossible to carry out reforms and lead Poland out of the economic crisis. The former opponents and now partners of the United Workers' Party have been reconciling their differences and have been creating new forms of cooperation.

Asked about the significance of Western aid for Poland, Mieczyslaw Rakowski stressed that the Poles must above all depend on their own [as heard]; another way would be erroneous. During our discussion with Gorbachev, Rakowski said, we admitted that bilateral relations should be intensified in all fields. Closer ties with the USSR, Rakowski emphasized, meet Poland's national interests and are indispensable for overcoming the difficulties in the country.

Rakowski Satisfied With Moscow Visit

LD1110193789 Moscow TASS in English 1900 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 11 TASS—The Polish United Workers' Party supports the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki in all its actions aimed at getting Poland out of the economic crisis, the Polish party leader Mieczyslaw Rakowski, who is on a working visit in the USSR, said at a press conference here today.

He said the party's policy vis-a-vis the Mazowiecki government was dictated in the first place by the interests of the Polish people.

Expressing his satisfaction with the results of his visit to Moscow, Rakowski briefly acquainted journalists with the contents of the 3.5-hour conversation he held today with the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

On the outlook for Soviet-Polish relations, Rakowski said he hoped that the present friendly relations between the two countries will continue to develop.

He said, among other things, that if the Mazowiecki government honours, as it says it will, all of Poland's previous commitments, there is no doubt that the Polish-Soviet relations will remain on the high level they had attained in the past.

The relations between the CPSU and the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] cannot influence negatively the government-to-government relations, Rakowski said. These relations have to be intensified, the existing forms of cooperation developed and new forms found.

Questioned about Poland's membership in the Warsaw Treaty organisation, Rakowski said this was indispensable in today's conditions. However, he did not rule out the eventuality that future generations of Poles might have a different view on that score.

Rakowski Ends Visit, Leaves

LD1110194189 Moscow TASS in English 1901 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 11 TASS—Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, left Moscow today, where he stayed on a working visit at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

At the airport Rakowski was seen off by Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Valentin Falin, head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, and other officials.

Laverov Meets With Polish Counterpart Janowski

PM1110155589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Moscow Meetings"]

[Text] On 9 October N.P. Laverov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, received J. Janowski, deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers and minister in charge of the Polish Office for the Advancement and Applications of Science and Technology, who is here to attend the opening of the Festival of Polish Science and Technology in the USSR. During the conversation there was a discussion of the state and prospects of scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries.

Poles Protest at 'Crazy' Food Price Spiral

PM1110122789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[Report by TASS correspondent in Poland A. Pershin: "The Economic Situation in Poland: Who Is Going To Stop the Prices Spiral"]

[Excerpts] Passers-by were witnesses to an unusual scene on Nowy Swiat Street, downtown Warsaw. A small group of young people carrying a young girl on a stretcher appeared by a direct-sale dairy store there, your TASS correspondent in Poland reports. Attached to her legs was a notice that read "Dead—there was no butter for her bread!"

That was the novel way in which Varsovians protested a new dramatic jump in prices, for milk this time. It was caused by the government decision to remove the subsidy on dairy products from 1st October. The result was immediate. Within just a matter of days the prices for milk, butter, cheese, kefir, and other dairy products doubled and tripled. Even the newspaper GAZETA WYBORCZA, which is closely connected with the opposition [as published], acknowleged that "Prices Have Gone Crazy." [passage omitted]

Assessing the overall situation of the country, Central Television wryly joked: To the political economies of socialism and capitalism we have added a third tome—the political economy of Poland.

The crisis nature of the situation in Poland was acknowledged by Solidarity leader Lech Walesa at a news conference in Gdansk yesterday: "Many people are now saying that it was better before. Of course it was. But if we did nothing, it would be even worse than it is now. We are changing the system while sitting on a powder keg. If all of us do not get down to work together, it could be even worse," Walesa observed.

While passions seethe over the economic problems, the crisis is hitting hardest the least materially and socially advantaged groups of the population. The Polish Red Cross, which has opened centers in Warsaw, Poznan, Kalisz, Lodz, Katowice, and other cities where anyone who wishes can get a free meal, is providing real help to those in difficulty.

GDR Charges Journalists With 'Incitement'

PM1110185589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Oct 89 First Edition p 4

[Own correspondent S. Baygarov dispatch: "GDR Interior Ministry Report"]

[Text] Berlin, 11 Oct—Newspapers today carry a report by the press department of the GDR Interior Ministry.

The Interior Ministry reports that although, following repeated appeals for calm, the police have been obliged to use force in a number of GDR cities in recent days, not one fatality, as written about in the Western press, has been recorded. In fact, the forces of public order have shown great restraint. And this at a time when they were being pelted with rocks, bottles, and burning objects and beaten with iron bars. Exactly 106 policemen received injuries. The report states that 46 hooligans also suffered.

In its statement the Interior Ministry accused certain Western correspondents of "incitement" and of "hindering the establishment of legal order." The activity of these journalists "was restricted in connection with massive interference."

At the same time the GDR Interior Ministry rejected a protest by the leadership of certain West German editorial boards which expressed dissatisfaction in connection with the "restriction of the activities" of their correspondents. The GDR Interior Ministry believes in turn that the work of these correspondents "runs counter to the spirit and letter of the Helsinki Final Act, violates legal order in the GDR, and does not tally with the norms of real journalistic activity." In this connection the GDR Interior Ministry issued a protest to the FRG's permanent mission in the GDR.

GDR Police 'Required' To Oppose Demonstrators

PM1110184389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Report prepared by V. Lapskiy in Berlin and B. Lysenko in Moscow: "Police Had to Intervene"]

[Text] GDR newspapers carry materials condemning the participants in gatherings and demonstrations of an antisocialist nature. They have taken place in Berlin and in certain other cities on the eve of the GDR's 40th anniversary and during the days of celebration.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND cites extracts from bezirk newspapers and publishes statements by citizens. Here, for example, is what the Dresden newspaper SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG wrote in this regard: "Numerous groups of young people, behaving like hooligans, have gathered in our city in recent days and undertaken antistate actions contrary to the Constitution. They committed excesses at the main station and in the city center, shouted antisocialist slogans and swearwords, and incited violence. In this way these groups have made clear what they understand by the words 'freedom' and 'democracy.'"

It must be noted that police intervention was required in many instances. Some of those involved in the gatherings were arrested. Given the elements of a crime, their cases are being forwarded to bezirk courts.

"What we wish for and need now," SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG goes on to write, "is a broad democratic discussion in party organizations and with all citizens on how to pursue our policy of continuity and renewal during the preparations for the 12th Socialist Unity Party of Germany Congress (it is scheduled for next May—V.L.), how to realize our tasks, and how to resolve the problems of real concern to people. In his speech at the ceremonial meeting in the Palace of the Republic E. Honecker emphasized: It is a question of the entire people's vital interests, and on the eve of the party congress the people are finding democratic ways to display their initiative, their competence, their proposals for the good of the common cause of socialism.

"We want to seek advice," the newspaper writes, "on how, as we follow a new section on our path, to continue the policy of unity in economic and social policy, to preserve everything that has proved its worth, and to change what needs to be changed. We wish to conduct a dialogue, using convincing arguments openly and patiently, as happened at the end of last week in various parts of the city; at the same time, however, it must be clear to everyone that the street is not a suitable place for conducting a constructive dialogue. We have repeatedly been told by Dresden residents concerned at the further course of events that this dialogue has not only been hampered because of hooligan sallies but is, in fact, frequently impossible."

Citing ADN, West Germany's DPA has published a report pointing out that during an unsanctioned demonstration in Berlin the People's Police Forces repeatedly urged the demonstrators to remain calm and behaved correctly and with restraint. However, groups of extremists among the young people attacked the police in an organized manner, pelting them with rocks and bottles. DPA claims that 106 policemen and 46 demonstrators were injured. Many of the aggressively minded demonstrators had obviously made preparations for these attacks on the forces of public order.

Colonel Dietze, Berlin's deputy police chief, gave this description of the disturbances in Berlin: "This provocation was inspired from outside. West Berlin radio and television stations are mixed up in this. Balloons with inflammatory leaflets were even sent over, as at the height of the 'cold war.'"

Deputy Minister on GDR System, Refugee Exodus

PM1110084189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Oct 89 Second Edition p 3

["Interview Following the Jubilee" with Klaus Hepke, GDR deputy minister of culture, by special correspondent A. Bogomolov: "Seeking Our Way"; first paragraph is editorial introduction; date of interview not specified]

[Text] Berlin—The celebrations marking the 40th anniversary of the GDR have come to an end in Berlin. Our special correspondent met and talked with Klaus Hepke, GDR deputy minister of culture and a popular politician in the republic, who shared his thoughts about the achievements and problems facing the country on the threshold of its 5th decade.

[Bogomolov] Comrade Hepke, what is your opinion of the results of M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the GDR and the state of relations between our countries?

[Hepke] We are glad that Mikhail Sergeyevich visited our country once again and met with Erich Honecker. I am convinced that such contacts and exchanges of experience and knowledge serve the common cause of building socialism and help strengthen the friendship between our peoples. It is well known that your leader enjoys extensive popularity in the GDR. Our people see M.S. Gorbachev as a world leader who has made a tremendous personal contribution to the struggle for peace.

[Bogomolov] You recently met students and teachers from Berlin's school of art. Your speech was reprinted in the youth newspaper JUNGE WELT and then distributed in a host of photocopies. How do you account for this interest?

[Hepke] The theme of our meeting with the students and teachers was defined as "The Image of the Individual in GDR Literature." But we moved a long way away from it. We said, in particular, that abandoning leveling is the most important problem for us now. Anyone who works better must also live better. This problem also faces you, and all socialist countries. A capitalist holds the whip of unemployment in his hand, while we do not have this powerful incentive—it is not necessary, either, because I believe that it is not socialism when there is unemployment but something else. During the preparations for the 12th Socialist Unity Party of Germany Congress, questions of stimulating labor are currently at the center of public debate. Moreover, I spoke of the need for greater boldness in discussing topics which are still off limits.

Incidentally, this is also the demand of the party Central Committee, but in practice it still happens sometimes that people's experience of daily life contradicts what they hear in declarations. This situation serves as a breeding ground for a critical perception of reality to emerge.

[Bogomolov] In his speech at the ceremonial session to mark the 40th anniversary of the GDR M.S. Gorbachev spoke about the importance of every country choosing its own path of development and its own path of socialist building. What could you say on this subject, remembering that Western propaganda is now accusing "socialism in GDR colors" of a certain degree of ossification and lack of receptivity to innovations?

[Hepke] I have already talked about these subjects with Western journalists. Why are you not doing like they are in Poland, they asked? I answered: Why do you think that there is one model that all socialist countries should use to build their future? I also told them that the economic situation in Poland cannot be compared with that in the GDR. That is why we have no intention of copying anyone and intend to pursue our own path in a consistent and well-conceived fashion, using the positive and rejecting the negative experience. I hoper that sober people in the West also realize this.

I told one of my Western interlocutors the following: The FRG is not our governor and we aren't governesses for Bonn. We don't need to be given lessons. Why does the FRG insist all the time on "reforms" in our country while itself being incapable of effecting the changes in its own country that would enable it to eliminate unemployment? Yet it is the richest capitalist country.

[Bogomolov] The theory of "living for today" is extremely popular in the West now. There is even a special term to define this phenomenon—"nowism" from the English word "now." This phenomenon also exists in the USSR. Doesn't it strike you that the GDR has not escaped this tendency either?

[Hepke] Of course, I believe, for instance, that the "refugee" phenomenon is in many respects a symptom of this disease. There is none of the drug addiction in the GDR that has become a typical feature of the "nowists" in the West. We do not have poverty or starvation either, a person feels confident in the future. That is why an unexpected flight in our conditions is also an act of social drug addiction of the same kind. I recently returned from West Germany and saw that normal people there regard

the refugees with some pessimism: Why are they coming, we have many problems of our own, yet they can quite easily live in the GDR.

On the other hand, in the course of this process considerable childishness has manifested itself—childishness that develops in people when a person obtains everything from the state free of charge from childhood and becomes accustomed to being cared for.

[Bogomolov] According to some figures, 100,000 people have left the GDR legally and illegally. But, I must say that this phenomenon has not skirted our country either. What are the reasons for it?

[Hepke] This is a very complex question. With regard to us, Germans, I do not rule out the fact that mass psychosis, even hysteria, played its role here. I look self-critically at some of the characteristics of the German people, who are very susceptible to these phenomena. If we recall what happened 50 years ago in Germany, we will find convincing proof of this. There people are also like that. You see their attitude to their children, forcing them to suffer as they abandon all their property, automobiles, and apartments and leave their families...

I talked with people who were already in the West. Their motives for leaving are very varied. Many were attracted by the purely visual aspect—the fact that automobiles there are more powerful and stores richer. Others were stimulated by the opportunity of world travel. But there are also people for whom involvement in open public debates is the most important thing. Some time may be needed to make a more thorough assessment of what has happened. Most of the refugees have still not realized how hard it will be for them to integrate into their new life and what difficulties are in store for them. For many of them want to work in peace like they do here and live a rich life as people do there.

[Bogomolov] It must be said that in this difficult situation the GDR has succeeded in resolving the problem in a consistent manner in the spirit of the new political atmosphere. But, in your view, what were the political and economic motives of the organizers of this mass exodus?

[Hepke] It is well known that there are many foreign workers in the FRG. In current conditions they want to get rid of these people, who were at one time lured into West Germany with promises of stacks of gold. Moreover, they want to replace them with Germans from the GDR this time. That is one aspect. The other is a purely economic one.

At the beginning of this campaign propaganda stressed that the emigres possess high qualifications and a good education. Now people are beginning to say that the quality of education in the East is allegedly lower and the qualifications are not quite what is required in the West. The aim is clear—to create conditions to pay the new arrivals less than the local inhabitants. Moreover, people in the FRG overtly acknowledge that in order to regain their former standard of living, the GDR refugees will have to work at two jobs. Thus, the organizers of this campaign are effectively engaged in the economic despoilation of both our republic—for trained educated people are being enticed away from us—and these people themselves.

Yazov Congratulates Kessler on GDR Jubilee

PM1010114189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Oct 89 First Edition p 1

[USSR Defense Minister D. Yazov undated greetings message to GDR National Defense Minister H. Kessler on GDR's 40th anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade Army General Heinz Kessler, GDR minister of national defense

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

Personally and on behalf of the USSR Armed Forces I send you and all National People's Army servicemen cordial congratulations on the national holiday—the 40th anniversary of the formation of the GDR.

The 4 decades that the GDR has been in existence have been marked by impressive successes by the republic's working people in building a new society, in developing the economy, science, and culture, in the social sphere, and in strengthening their country's defense capability. These years have graphically confirmed that the socialist German state is an important factor for peace and security on our continent and a full and equal member of the family of European peoples. We express confidence that the National People's Army, in close combat alliance with the armies of the other Warsaw Pact states, will continue to reliably stand guard over peace and socialism.

On the holiday I wish the National People's Army personnel further successes in military labor and in strengthening friendship and cooperation with the socialist community countries' fraternal armies.

Army General D. Yazov, USSR minister of defense.

Zaykov, Primakov Attend GDR Jubilee Ceremony

PM0610104489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Glorious Anniversary"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting of representatives of Moscow's working people was held in the Hall of Columns of the House of the Unions on 4 October, to mark the GDR's national holiday—the 40th anniversary of its formation.

The speakers came out in favor of the further strengthening of allied relations and fruitful, multifaceted cooperation between our parties, states, and peoples, which, in their view, will be promoted by the visit to the GDR

by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to take part in the celebration of the noteworthy date.

Taking part in the meeting were L.N. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow City CPSU Committee; Ye.M. Primakov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union; I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; leaders of a number of ministries and departments and representatives of party, soviet, and social organizations; a delegation from the German-Soviet Friendship Society headed by R. Agsten, member of the German-Soviet Friendship Society Central Board Presidium and secretary of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany Central Board; and G. Koenig, GDR ambassador to the USSR.

On the same day G. Koenig and diplomatic staffers of the GDR Embassy visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and laid a wreath. A wreath was also laid at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Kremlin Wall.

In the evening the ambassador held a reception to mark the holiday.

The reception was attended by L.N. Zaykov, Ye.M. Primakov, I.S. Silayev, and other officials.

GDR's Kessler Receives Baltic Fleet Commander

LD0610150889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1140 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin, 6 Oct (TASS)—Army General H. Kessler, GDR Minister for National Defense, has commended the fraternal relations between the GDR and the USSR, as well as the cooperation between the two countries' armed forces in the interests of the joint defense of peaceful socialist construction.

On Friday, he met Admiral V.P. Ivanov, commander of the Baltic Fleet, who is leading the visit by a detachment of Soviet warships to the port of Rostock.

CSSR's Kempny Pays Visit, Meets With Leaders

Yakovlev Meets Kempny

LD0510164489 Moscow TASS in English 1519 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 5 TASS—Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, met with Josef Kempny, a visiting member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party's Central Committee and chairman of the Czech National Council, here on Wednesday.

Kempny is making an official visit to the USSR at the invitation of the Presidium of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet (Parliament).

In a conversation, attended by Vitaliy Vorotnikov, member of the Politburo and president of the Presidium of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet, the sides exchanged views on topical issues of Soviet-Czhechoslovak cooperation.

Kempny Speaks With Lukyanov, Vlasov

PM0610194989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS reports under general heading: "Talks in Moscow"]

[Text] On the same day [4 October] the Czech National Council delegation was received by A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. He acquainted the guests with the progress of perestroyka in the Soviet Union and with the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet session, which is discussing key draft laws defining ways and methods of renewing the country's socioeconomic life which concern the fundamental problems of the Soviet society's development.

J. Kempny spoke about the work of the Czech National Council, the application of the economic reform, the expansion of democracy, and the working people's participation in the implementation of the tasks of perestroyka in the CSSR.

Questions of deepening cooperation between the state organs of the two countries were discussed. It was stressed that this cooperation is developing on the basis of the principles of mutual trust and respect and comradely interest in each other's successes.

The importance was stressed of further developing and improving Soviet-Czechoslovak ties in all spheres of activity and deepening contacts between the two countries' supreme and local representative organs of power, labor collectives, and scientific and cultural workers.

On the same day a meeting was held between A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers and the delegation.

J. Kempny appraised highly the meetings and talks held in Moscow in the course of the visit.

A.V. Vlasov spoke about the socioeconomic development of the Russian Federation and the tasks facing the republic. He noted that the processes of transformation in our two countries make it possible to create favorable conditions for cooperation between the RSFSR and the Czech Socialist Republic in the most varied spheres.

Specific questions pertaining to Russian-Czech ties which presuppose the development of multifaceted contacts between the governments, ministries, regions, cities, enterprises, and departments of the republics were discussed. It was agreed to sign in the near future a protocol and program which have been elaborated by the sides to promote friendly ties and develop cooperation between the RSFSR and the Czech Socialist Republic in the economic, technological, cultural, and sports spheres.

A.V. Vlasov asked that an invitation be conveyed to F. Pitra, premier of the Czech Socialist Republic Government, to pay an official visit to the RSFSR.

The conversation was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

The talks were attended by S.I. Chistoplyasov, secretary of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, other officials, and J. Rehorek, CSSR ambassador to the USSR.

Kempny Meets Leningrad Figure

LD0810212689 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 0600 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Josef Kempny, chairman of the Czech National Council, met yesterday, at the end of his official visit to the Soviet Union, Boris Gidaspov, first secretary of the Leningrad Oblast Party Committee.

The two officials expressed their satisfaction with the establishment of twin contacts between Leningrad and Prague which will enable them to unite their efforts in creating mechanisms of cooperation, especially in the field of key technologies and production branches which require advanced scientific knowledge.

USSR-CSSR Symposium on Party Work Concludes

PM0710145389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Symposium Held"]

[Text] At the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism a Soviet-Czechoslovak symposium on the theme "Perestroyka and the Style of Party Work" has ended.

Scientists from the two countries exchanged opinions on problems of the renewal of the party as the political vanguard of society in present-day conditions, the restructuring of the style of ideological work, the democratization of cadre policy and intraparty life, and the application of political approaches in the work of party committees and organizations.

At Moscow's Leninskiy CPSU rayon committee [raykom] the symposium participants acquainted themselves with the experience of the party raykom's work in conditions of perestroyka.

Anniversary of Czechoslovak People's Army Noted

Yazov Greets CSSR's Vaclavik

PM0610122189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Oct 89 First Edition p 1

[Undated message from Army General D. Yazov, USSR Defense Minister "To Army General Comrade Milan Vaclavik, CSSR Minister of National Defense"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces and myself I send you and all Czechoslovak servicemen fraternal greetings and sincere congratulations on the 45th anniversary of the Czechoslovak People's Army.

The formation and development of the Czechoslovak People's Army during this period has taken place in the context of the all-around strengthening of combat cooperation with the armies of the other fraternal socialist countries, in the interests of strengthening the collective security of the Warsaw Pact states and safeguarding its motherland's defense capability. We are profoundly convinced that the relations of friendship and cooperation and the glorious combat traditions existing between the Czechoslovak People's Army and the USSR Armed Forces will continue to strengthen and develop for the benefit of peace and progress.

On this glorious anniversary I wish Czechoslovak People's Army personnel further successes in improving their combat skills and in resolving their responsible tasks at the present stage of society's development.

[Signed] Army General D. Yazov, USSR Defense Minister

Shabanov Attends CSSR Army Fete

PM0610135389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Oct 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report under the general heading "On the Anniversary"]

[Text] The Czechoslovak People's Army was set up during the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples' joint struggle against the Hitlerite aggressors. Its emergence was a symbol of the indissoluble friendship, heroism, and courage of the servicemen from the two fraternal countries who fought side by side against the common enemy. The Czechoslovak People's Army now occupies a worthy place in the combat lineup of the Warsaw Pact states. This was stated at a 3 October meeting devoted to the 45th anniversary of the Czechoslovak People's Army involving representatives of the capital's public and servicemen from the Moscow Garrison.

Army General V.M. Shabanov, USSR deputy defense minister, who spoke at the meeting, noted the contribution made by the Czechoslovak People's Army to the implementation of the Warsaw Pact defense doctrine, and stressed that Soviet Armed Forces servicemen will

continue to strengthen friendship with their Czechoslovak comrades-in-arms in every possible way.

The meeting was addressed by Major General I. Mrazek [initial as transliterated], military and air attache at the CSSR Embassy in the USSR.

CSSR Defense Minister on Army Jubilee

PM0610094189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Oct 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by CSSR National Defense Minister Army General Milan Vaclavik under the rubric "October 6 Is Czechoslovak People's Army Day": "True to the Legacy of the Dukla Pass"]

[Text] The glorious traditions of celebrating Czechoslovak People's Army [CSLA] Day stem from the historic events of 6 October 1944. Then, in heavy fighting against the fascist invaders, the troops of the 1st Czechoslovak Army Corps in the USSR together with their combat friends—the men of the Soviet Army—reached their native land in the Eastern Carpathians region, at the Dukla Pass. That is how the liberation of our homeland began.

The 45th anniversary of the Carpathians-Dukla offensive is celebrated in the wake of the 45th anniversary of the Slovak national uprising—which indicates their historical interconnection. As Soviet troops drew up to Czechoslovakia's borders in the late summer of 1944 our people realized that the final time of reckoning with the Hitlerites and internal reaction had come. Under the Communist Party's leadership, they rose up in a liberation struggle for a new, democratic Czechoslovakia and for a free, socially just, and united state of Czechs and Slovaks.

The men of the Czechoslovak corps in the USSR also fought for these aims. At a very hard time of national oppression our people sought and found help and support from the Soviet Union. The Carpathian-Dukla operation—one of the components in the vast Eastern Carpathians offensive—was the most significant manifestation of this. It was carried out on the basis of the Soviet command's decision to aid the Slovak national uprising as quickly as possible. The troops were ready for the offensive within 4 days of the decision. Their slogan was: "Forward, to help our brother Slovaks!"

There was very heavy fighting in the Carpathians. Using previously prepared defense areas in inaccessible mountain areas, the fascists offered stubborn resistance. The operation that began 8 September and was at first planned to last 5 days ended at the end of October. Some 16,500 men from the 1st Czechoslovak Army Corps took part in it together with Soviet fighters. In the course of this operation the enemy defenses were penetrated on six mountain peaks and the way was opened to the liberation of Czechoslovakia. Figuratively speaking, the Dukla Pass was the gateway to freedom.

With a sense of profound reverence and gratitude our people honor the memory of the 21,000 Soviet soldiers and almost 1,000 servicemen from the 1st Czechoslovak Army Corps who gave their lives here and all those involved in the fighting at the Dukla Pass. The exhibits at the CSSR national cultural memorial—the Dukla Pass Military Museum—attest to these sacrifices, heroism, and selflessness.

The fighting at the Dukla Pass was the heaviest and, from the military-political viewpoint, the most important for the soldiers of the Czechoslovak Corps. The indestructible friendship between our peoples and armies was sealed through joint bloodshed in these battles. Our troops learned combat skills from the Soviet Army and, shoulder to shoulder with its servicemen, demonstrated tremendous courage and heroism and a firm desire to win victory, based on the conviction that they were fighting for a better life for their people. In response to a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent's questions after the fighting on the Dukla Pass, General Ludvik Svoboda, commander of the 1st Czechoslovak Army Corps, assessed the depth of these relations in the following way: "Now that the Soviet Union has been cleansed of the barbarous invaders and Red Army men are shedding their blood on our native land, our love for them has become even stronger and more fervent. Red Army soldiers have fought and are fighting for Czechoslovakia just as they fought for Moscow, Stalingrad, and their Soviet cities. We will never forget what we have seen in the past few days, and our party will be indebted to them forever..."

The fighting at the Dukla Pass marked a significant phase in the process of creating a new army. The numerical strength of the Czechoslovak Army Corps rose rapidly during the liberation battles on their native soil despite the endeavors of the bourgeoisie and their politicians, and its troops' combat might and political tempering were enhanced. This enabled the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], headed by Klement Gottwald, to incorporate in the program of the first people's democratic government of the Czech and Slovak People's Fronts the main aims of building a new army, which by its very nature was to be an antifascist, democratic, and people's army modeled on our liberator—the Soviet Army. These principles were implemented during the postwar period through the efforts of the Communist Party, and following the working people's February Victory in 1948 the CSLA became a socialist army.

True to the legacy of the Dukla Pass, it is continuing to develop its own glorious traditions of defending the socialist homeland, socialism, and peace within the firm alliance of the Warsaw Pact countries' armies. CSLA servicemen are constantly strengthening their combat friendship and cooperation with Soviet Army personnel, above all with the men of the Central Group of Forces. It is their common task to defend Czechoslovakia's western borders, which are also at the same time the borders of our entire defense community. The troops'

combat and political training along with their international education are being improved and joint exercises and classes are organized in this spirit. Czechoslovak and Soviet troops get to know one another when fulfilling their official duties and during cultural, sporting, and other events. This is all backed up by their realization of their supreme responsibility for preserving peace in Europe and throughout the world and for implementing revolutionary changes in the development of socialism in our fraternal countries.

The CSLA has always been an inalienable part of our society. In unity with the working people it has striven to ensure prosperity for the homeland and guarantee its security and defense capability. In the course of its organization the CSLA has consistently secured the Communist Party's leading role and derived experience from other fraternal armies, above all the Soviet Army, as a living organism that reacts keenly to changes in society. It has not shirked definite difficulties and problems, particularly during the crisis period of 1968-1969 when combat readiness was seriously disrupted and the troops' moral-political condition was reduced.

The demand to mobilize all our system's resources and advantages with a view to speeding up the development of socialism is now being resolutely placed on the agenda. The strategic line of CPCZ policy in this direction was determined at its 17th congress, while subsequent CPCZ Central Committee plenums have elaborated concrete tasks to implement this policy by means of comprehensive economic and social restructuring. Comrade Miklos Jakes stressed at the Ninth CPCZ Central Committee Plenum: "Our decision to complete restructuring fully and implement it consistently and in all areas is irreversible. This is a course to which there is no alternative... We are advancing toward the same goal and along the same path as the CPSU and we are relying on our alliance with it and with other socialist countries."

The tasks of restructuring and democratization, which are infiltrating all spheres of public life, are also reflected to the same extent and with the same force within the CSLA. To be specific, demands have been growing for the implementation of the tasks set at the All-Army Party Aktiv held after the 17th CPCZ Congress. They consist in improving troops' combat and mobilization readiness, consistently introducing the achievements of military science into their training, improving leadership and organizational work, strengthening troop discipline, enhancing the level of cadre work, command personnel training, and concern for people, stepping up the effectiveness of ideological and political instruction, deepening the party's leading role in the army, and boosting the effectiveness of the army's party organization. An important task is also to strengthen the unity of the army and the people and develop international combat ties with the fraternal armies of the Warsaw Pact countries.

We are putting the finishing touches to these fundamental tasks in accordance with the resolutions of CPCZ Central Committee plenums. The essential point is to ensure that the army is further improved, above all by improving qualitative indicators. As for equipment, it is a question of boosting its reliability and combat qualities on the basis of the most modern scientific and technical achievements. Military science is required to develop new concepts of military art that accord with the defensive nature of national and coalition military doctrines. We are improving the system of troop leadership and the work style of the National Defense Ministry and increasing the independence of the bodies under its jurisdiction in order to boost the standard of all processes taking place within the army, particularly in the sphere of the effectiveness of combat and political training and in the strengthening of discipline and organization. We are devoting considerable attention to training officer cadres at colleges and also on the job in units and staffs and to boosting their professionalism and political and cultural maturity.

As throughout society, so in the Army, we note the top-priority role of political education work linked with involving people in the implementation of the restructuring policy and in the fulfillment of military and civil duties in an enterprising and responsible manner. Attention centers on concern for servicemen and on meeting their material and spiritual requirements. However, it must be said that all this is not easy, it requires a change of thinking, mentality, style and methods of work, and at the same time it requires us to combat the effect of hostile propaganda, especially on young people. In general, restructuring in the army constitutes unity in resolving program, organizational, and educative tasks.

These days the results of the training year are being assessed in an exacting fashion in all CSLA units, staffs, and establishments and tasks are being planned for the coming year, which will be marked by the preparations for and holding of the 18th CPCZ Congress. This most important political event is already affecting the whole life of our society and army now. The aims and tasks of restructuring are assuming increasingly real outlines and demands for them to be implemented are increasing. It is a matter of honor for every communist and every servicemen to greet the party congress in a worthy fashion by fulfilling his nonmilitary and official duties in an enterprising fashion. The positive changes in international relations in Europe achieved as a result of the new political thinking implemented by the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries have directly affected the CSLA. We are organizing troop training, notably all exercises in the spirit of the new principles of our defensive doctrine. Our activity in the military-political sphere is geared toward confidence-building along the line of contact with NATO countries.

At present we are fulfilling the decision adopted by the country's Defense Council to reduce the number of troops and arms and effect organizational changes within the CSLA in 1989-1990. Defense spending is being cut by 15 percent. The question of army building and training is being carried out on the principle of

higher efficiency and thrift. Army manpower and funds will be used more for the needs of the national economy. For this purpose combat units have donated more than Kcs20,000 to army construction organizations. The reorganization also applies to a reduction in the numerical strength of tank and air regiments and the transfer of several combined arms divisions to bases, and the number of troop exercises will also be reduced. But implementing the principle of defense sufficiency by no means signifies a reduction in the demands made on combat capability and army readiness. It is very important that these principles are retained, because the CSLA is in the first defense echelon of the Warsaw Pact countries' armies.

As long as there is a danger of war in Europe and as long our country and the entire socialist community are under threat, the CSLA must be a well-trained, modern army, a stable link in our defensive alliance.

The glorious traditions of the Dukla Pass compel all CSLA fighters to rise to the tasks of the present, complex time, well-trained and capable of reliably defending the peace and freedom of their socialist homeland.

West Europe

Supreme Soviet Delegation Visits Italy

PM1110092989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS reports under general heading "Stay in Italy"]

[Excerpt] Rome, 28 Sep—[passage omitted]

Today the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation met with representatives from the Foreign Affairs Committee in the Italian parliament's Chamber of Deputies. There was a constructive exchange of opinions on the most topical international problems and questions of the further development of bilateral Soviet-Italian relations. Attention was focused on questions of military detente, disarmament, and consolidating all-European cooperation.

Flaminio Piccoli, chairman of the committee, pointed to the positive changes taking place in the world. He gave a high assessment of the speech by USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze to the UN General Assembly's 44th session and the proposals contained in it.

The peoples must build their future together, F. Piccoli stressed. There needs to be a total ban on nuclear weapons. Even small arsenals of these weapons are a great danger to mankind. The activity of the Italian parliament and of the political parties represented in the parliament is directed toward supporting the process of the disarmament talks. This also fully concerns chemical weapons, he noted. Italy favors a total ban on them.

R.N. Nishanov in his turn noted the great coincidence of views between the USSR and Italy on questions of international politics. The Foreign Affairs Committee of the Italian parliament's Chamber of Deputies has contributed considerably to this. Now, he said, the world increasingly realizes that there is nothing to be gained by confrontation. Common human values are coming to the fore. People feel a great need for a stable world, which can only be attained through detente, disarmament and cooperation. This multifaceted process must constantly be developed and not remain at a standstill.

Today the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation met with representatives of the committee on social questions of the Italian parliament's Chamber of Deputies. There was a keen exchange of opinions on questions concerning the activity of both countries' top legislative organs in the sphere of solving social security and public health questions. The discussion on the position of women in modern society, and mother and child protection aroused great interest.

The members of the Soviet delegation were introduced to the principles of the Italian parliamentary committee's activity, its financing and organization. They in turn talked about the reforms taking place in the new Soviet parliament in conditions of perestroyka.

During both meetings the important role which parliamentarians have played and still play in work to develop Soviet-Italian relations was noted. Today, in the light of the world situation, which is changing for the better, fresh opportunities are opening up for the top legislative organs, and cooperation is assuming new qualities. The ties between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Italian parliament, it was stressed at the meetings, are long-standing and are effected on a permanent basis. They are an integral part of Soviet-Italian political dialogue and are generally marked by ongoing development.

Rome, 29 Sep—Giulio Andreotti, chairman of the Italian Council of Ministers, received members of the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation which is here on an official visit and which is headed by R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities.

During the meeting Andreotti confirmed the constant and benevolent concern that Italians show for perestroyka in the USSR, particularly for the latest bold initiatives of the Soviet Union in the sphere of disarmament and strengthening international security. In this respect, the head of the Italian Government stressed, a particular role is being assigned to M.S. Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to Italy which, undoubtedly, will mark a new page in Soviet-Italian cooperation and, on a broader scale, will be an outstanding event in European and world politics. In discussing the state and future of bilateral cooperation stress was put on further expanding and deepening mutually advantageous economic exchanges. The Italian side regards this as an opportunity to give weighty and specific assistance to the perestroyka being implemented in the USSR.

In an atmosphere of complete mutual understanding certain key questions of current international politics were discussed, particularly the progress of Soviet-U.S.

and multilateral talks on disarmament. G. Andreotti confirmed Italy's position in favor of achieving as quickly as possible accords on banning chemical weapons, which must lead in the future to the complete elimination of this dangerous form of arms.

The sides also advocated progress in other talks on disarmament, particularly on the reduction of strategic offensive arms and conventional arms in Europe.

R.N. Nishanov expressed cordial thanks to the Italian Government and people for their disinterested assistance to the Armenian people who were the victims of the catastrophic earthquake. This humane act, he stressed, is highly assessed in the Soviet Union.

The conversation took place in a friendly atmosphere and there was a frank exchange of opinions. N.M. Lunkov, USSR ambassador to Italy, took part in it.

On the same day a reception was arranged in the Soviet Embassy in Rome in honor of the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation. It was attended by Giovanni Spadolini, chairman of the Senate in the Italian parliament, Leonilde Iotti, chairman of the Chamber of Deputies, and other prominent Italian state and public figures, parliamentarians, representatives of political parties and trade unions, and journalists.

Katushev Arrives in Rome for Economic Talks

LD1110100389 Moscow TASS in English 2119 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Rome October 10 TASS—Soviet Minister of External Economic Relations Konstantin Katushev has arrived in Rome for talks with Italian Minister of Foreign Trade Renato Ruggiero.

The ministers will discuss questions concerning the state and perspectives of bilateral economic relations in the light of the forthcoming state visit to Italy of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

They will also conclude work on coordinating a long-term programme for economic, industrial and technical cooperation for the period ending in the year 2000.

During his stay in Italy, Katushev will meet Deputy Prime Minister Claudio Martelli, minister for the matters of state involvement in enterprises Carlo Fracandzani and heads of a number of major state-owned concerns.

Soviet Military Chief on Relations With Finland

LD1010120889 Moscow TASS in English 1159 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 10 TASS—"Soviet-Finnish relations in the military field are notable for stability, mutual trust and sincerity," Chief of the USSR Armed Forces' General Staff Mikhail Moiseyev said today on the eve of a visit to the Soviet Union by General Jaakko Valtanen, commander-in-chief of Finnish Defence Forces.

The Finnish guest arrives in Moscow on Wednesday for a three-day official visit.

Valtanen will meet our country's military leadership and will tour cultural and historical sights of Moscow, Moiseyev said.

"I hope that General Valtanen's visit will serve to strengthen good-neighbourly relations between the Soviet Union and Finland," Moiseyev added.

Finnish Military Chief Arrives

LD1110151889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1407 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 11 Oct (TASS)—TASS diplomatic correspondent reports:

General Jaako Valtanen, commander of the Finnish Defense Forces, arrived in the Soviet Union today for an official visit. Also today there was a meeting between Army General Mikhail Moiseyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, and the guest from Finland. During the conversation General Moiseyev stresssed that the contemporary military doctrine of the USSR is subordinate to a most important political task—preventing both nuclear and conventional war. He also noted that in a nuclear age mankind must develop new political thinking which provides a reliable guarantee of the survival of mankind. Speaking of Soviet-Finnish relations in the military sphere General Moiseyev called them "exceptionally friendly and good-neighborly".

General Valtanen spoke in favor of expanding and deepening contacts between the Armed Forces of the USSR and the defense forces of Finland. "We must build our relations with a view to the long term," said the guest from Finland.

CPSU's Fateyev Returns From Finland Visit

PM0610131289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Announcements"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by A.M. Fateyev, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and second secretary of Leningrad Oblast CPSU Committee, returned home on 3 October after a visit to Finland at the invitation of the Communist Party of Finland-Unity.

Lukyanov Receives FRG Envoy's Credentials

PM0710144789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Presentation of Credentials"]

[Text] K. Blech, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the FRG, presented his credentials to A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme

Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, in the Kremlin 5 October.

K. Blech noted the importance of political dialogue between the FRG and the USSR, which contributes to the deepening of trust between our two states and governments and opens up new very promising prospects for the all-around development of our ties. He stressed that the interest of the FRG's population in the recent visit of M.S. Gorbachev and the tokens of trust and affinity with which he was greeted testify to a sincere desire for lasting peace and mutual understanding with the Soviet Union.

The ambassador expressed the hope that the dynamic processes under way in the Soviet Union, in bilateral relations, on the continent of Europe, and in East-West relations in general will lead to an epoch of peaceful coexistence and a better and more secure future.

Accepting the credentials on behalf of the Presidium and the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, A.I. Lukyanov emphasized that thanks to the efforts made by both sides an important turn from confrontation to cooperation has been achieved in relations between the USSR and the FRG. These relations are now acquiring an essentially new quality. The adoption in Bonn of the Joint Statement, which represents the conceptual basis of constructive and multifaceted Soviet-West German cooperation in the future, was a major political event not just of European, but of international significance. This document develops substantially in the new conditions the ideals of the Moscow Treaty of 12 August 1970, which was and is the basis of mutual relations between the USSR and the FRG. Its pivotal proposition, as is known, is the sides' commitment "strictly to observe the territorial integrity of all states in Europe within their present borders."

Both sides expressed themselves in favor of the further intensification of cooperation in the economy and other spheres, investing it with stability, greater dynamism, and an ever-increasing scale.

After the presentation of credentials a friendly conversation took place between A.I. Lukyanov and K. Blech which was joined by A.G. Kovalev, USSR first deputy foreign minister, and E.L. Kuzmin, chief of the deparmtent of international relations of the USSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat.

Swiss To Build Syringe Factory in Kazakhstan

LD0510224289 Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] A Swiss company will help to build a factory to produce disposible syringes in the capital of Kazakhstan, Alma-Ata. The contract to this effect has just been signed. The factory will give its first output in a year's time. Its full capacity will be 175 million a year.

Supreme Soviet Session

Quality of Parliamentary Debate Viewed

PM1210090989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Oct 89 First Edition p 1, 2

[Own parliamentary observer Miroslav Buzhkevich article under the rubric "Parliamentary Week": "The Deputy's Words"; PRAVDA Second Edition for 8 October publishes this article with slight variations—these differences are noted in the item below]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] It is possible to claim that leaders have already emerged in our parliament—deputies whose words carry a lot of weight among their colleagues because, as a rule, they are creative in principle. Even if they smash a proposed draft law to smithereens. Because by rejecting something that is not suitable, they pave the way to the correct, the true [two previous words omitted from 8 Oct PRAVDA Second Edition version] solution.

When S. Alekseyev, A. Sobchak, P. Bunich, or A. Denisov take the floor, heightened attention and expectation of something significant can always be sensed in the hall. And more often than not these speakers do not disappoint their listeners. They are capable of highlighting the crux of the problem under discussion, focusing people's minds on it, and finding solutions to it. In this they, just like a number of other deputies, are motivated by a desire to channel the discussion in a fruitful direction, and in the event of extreme contradictions to find a consensus, an agreement between the opposing sides. It is probably for this reason that the floor frequently rewards such deputies with applause. They have helped to resolve major issues of importance for the entire people. [Last two sentences omitted in Second Edition]

Naturally, the atmosphere which reigns at the session and at sittings of committees and commissions ought to be marked not only by a balanced approach but also by sharply criticial attitudes. This is what actually happens in most cases. Here is a concrete example. Last Wednesday [4 Oct] the Committee for Questions of Ecology and the Rational Use of Natural Resources heard a report by Yu. Guskov, first deputy minister of the timber industry, on measures to be implemented by the Ministry of the Timber Industry in 1990 to improve the ecological situation in timber felling areas and around timber processing enteprises. The discussion of the report was heated. The deputies were not satisfied with the explanations of the ministry officials. As a result the committee decided to hold a special hearing at some point in the future to ascertain what has been done at enterprises of this ministry to clean up the production process itself and the environment. I was impressed not just by the deputies' exactingness but also the by tact with which the discussion was conducted. No, they did not treat the timber industry officials with kid gloves, they told them the brutal truth squarely to their faces. However, at the same time they behaved absolutely correctly without wounding their opponents' feelings or self-esteem [last seven words of this sentence omitted in Second Edition].

However, by no means all deputies display such restraint. Sometimes, in the heat of the argument, speakers say things which insult the dignity not just of their opponent, but of all the people in the hall. It pains me to recall the occasion when a deputy sarcastically announced from the rostrum at the session: "People already know that the Supreme Soviet is naive, but surely not to such a degree as to be incapable of understanding a simple situation." And so, in passing, in an effort to discredit an "opponent," a tactless "assessment" is made of the parliament as a whole.

Another deputy, on his way to the microphone, making his way between the seats started asking the chairman in a high-handed tone on whose instruction part of the debate had been excluded from the television broadcast the night before. Who had dared to do this! He was reminded that this was the will of the majority of the Supreme Soviet members. And what happened? The would-be "accuser," holding his head high, returned to his seat without even bothering to apologize. [Last two sentences omitted from Second Edition]

The constant polemics between a section of deputies from Azerbaijan and Armenia are attracting attention. No one is denying them their right to express their own opinion. The problem is that frequently this is done in a far from parliamentary manner. Forgetting that the debate is taking place at a Supreme Soviet session rather than a rally, some of the particularly "over-excited" participants interrupt speakers with shouts from the floor. And when they get to the rostrum, they try to put all the blame for what is happening on their opponents. And what is more, it is done in extremely sharp tones, with a desire to wound and insult the national sentiments of all the Azerbaijanis or Armenians.

It was this circumstance which led Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the chairman, to make a number of points, important points in my opinion, before one of the sessions. He called on deputies to display a high sense of responsiblity for what they are saying. Nowhere, and especially not from the Supreme Soviet rostrum is it permissible to accuse whole nations of extremism.

Yes, it is impermissible to look for a "scapegoat," to try and blame everything on one's opponent. It is necessary to identify and suggest realistic ways to eliminate causes of conflicts. At the same time it is wrong to wait until everything is cut and dried, on the contrary, efforts must be made to settle big and small contradictions before they flare up.

Deputies' words can only be sensible, wise, well-weighed, and urging constructive actions for the benefit of both the country as a whole and its individual citizens. It is words of this kind that Soviet people expect from those whom they have elected.

Discussions on Press Status Reported

PM1110141089 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 41, 8 Oct 89 p 12

[Dmitriy Kazutin article: "Will the Press Be Legally Recognized? Notes From a Joint Meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] Three committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet—on legislation, on glasnost, and on science and culture—met to discuss the draft law on the press. At the meeting, I made an absolutely unexpected discovery. Essentially, it boils down to this: I've been involved in illegal activities, as it were, for over 30 years or, to be more precise—I go in for activities about which the law knows nearly nothing. The press, the other mass media, their publishers, censors, editors and journalists are still outside the law, and have no legal recognition. None of these concepts are defined within the laws which now operate.

Anybody can subject to arbitrary treatment those who are outside the law. A publisher—especially if it is a party committee—can dismiss an editor, but the editor cannot complain about this in court. A journalist cannot sue a censor who has banned a publication because, from the legal point of view, censorship doesn't exist in our country. The mass media will get legal recognition only when the draft law on the press comes into force.

I doubt very much that the birth will be easy. Too many people and organizations are interested in preserving the existing situation. Officials of all sorts are already angry at the behaviour of the press which is obviously getting rid of their guardianship. An administrator is hardly likely to go to court against "his own" newspaper.

Vladimir Boldyrev, chief of Glavlit (the censorship administration) was the first to publicly reveal his selfish interests at the joint meeting of the three committees. Not risking to make an outright attack, Article 5 of the draft law—"censorship of publications is not allowed"—he offerd an amendment, according to which the law assigns the guarding of state and other secrets to Glavlit. Arguing this amendment, Boldyrev warned the journalists that otherwise they "be constantly in court."

Sharply protesting the "censorship" amendment, Sergey Stankevich, people's deputy of the USSR, said that, leaving Glavlit in fact, and giving it legal status, amounts to bury the entire draft as a whole Aleksandr Gelman, people's deputy, supported Stankevich. Gelman said: "The draft law must be published as quickly as possible, no matter how many shortcomings it may have, otherwise it might become a victim of departmental interests, and not only of Glavlit."

The participants in the discussion did not let Boldyrev's amendment go through. But I think, this is far from the last correction of this kind. I understand the concern of people's deputies who warned that the press can be controlled even without censorship. It is enough to preserve the existing practice of distributing paper, in order to bring any newspaper into line. The deputies said that without the free wholesale trade of paper and printing equipment the press will not be free.

The practical fate of the Law on State Enterprise and some other laws made obvious a simple truth—the lawmaker must not give in to the pressure of group interests, of group egoism. Parliament is a place where the resultant force of many interests is publicly and democratically determined.

Whose interests, then, lie behind the draft? Nearly every speaker stressed its progressive nature. I think it guarantees freedom of the press, not freedom from responsibility, including material responsibility. It gives the society the first legal guarantee of glasnost. By the way, the deputies paid attention to the fact that the reliability of this gurantee will depend on the interaction of the future law on the press with the future laws on glasnost and on state secrets. At the same time, the majority of speakers spoke in favor of the immediate publication of the draft law on the press for extra-parliamentary discussion. The mass media must, as soon as possible, be given complete legal recognition and legal protection.

U.S. President Abraham Lincoln was once asked, which he thought was more important—free elections or a free press? "A free press," Lincoln said "Free elections cannot be held without it." When the draft law on the press is presented to the USSR Supreme Soviet, it wouldn't be a bad idea to remind people about this.

Voronin Addresses NKAO Blockade Issue 10 Oct

LD1010233689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1656 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Speech by Lev Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, from the recording of the USSR Supreme Soviet session on 10 October in the Kremlin in Moscow]

[Text] Fulfilling the resolution of the Supreme Soviet on urgent measures to ensure the uninterrupted operation of rail transportation and basic industries and relying in particular on points 1 and 2 of the resolution, taking into account the direct instruction of the Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers and Supreme Soviets and Councils of Ministers of the union republics to somehow lift the blockade and solve these questions without sending additional contingents of internal forces and internal troops and the Ministry of Defense, we have organized this work by commandeering our experts and continued daily work with the government of the Republic of Azerbaijan with various bodies.

Since 5 September the situation regarding traffic through the junctions of Naroshen and (Dzhevan)—these are two junctions on the Azerbaijan railway and traffic should go to Armenia via these two junctions—has been as follows: On the 5th traffic was started, on 5 October actually, every day traffic is increasing. Normally a maximum of

1,300 wagons are delivered to Armenian via three junctions. —two junctions via the Azerbaijan railway and one junction via the Transcaucasus, that is, (?Sodokhlo) station—but yesterday we sent 1,748 wagons. tonight is to follow the same pattern and we calculate that about the same number of wagons will be sent.

What outstanding questions are there today? Unfortunately, despite our work and the assurances from the leaders of the Azerbaijan Republic that the passage of special trains with fuel products via the junctions of Naroshen and Dzhevan would begin it is not yet moving today although in my conversations today starting in the night they have have been confirming once more that from today this traffic would be moving. To somehow solve these questions we have done the following: today via a junction of the Georgian railway we are sending about one-third of the required fuel products to Armenia.

In order somehow to find [ways out of] the situation, we have adopted measures, and through this junction we have correspondingly brought up trains and filled them with fuel, and from tomorrow we shall more or less be meeting Armenia's requirement of 150 tankers, although despite the assurances of the leaders of the Azerbaijani republic, the question has not today been resolved. So what are we asking for? Well, I should like to ask the deputies from both republics once again to get involved in this matter more actively. Perhaps they can meet here, talk things over, and talk to their governments and Supreme Soviets so that we can finally resolve this matter in a stable manner.

I have told you about the measures we are adopting. Of course, our most serious situation is in the Nagorno-Karabakh [Autonomous] Oblast. The situation there is as follows. We have begun—that is, the lifting of the blockade has begun there. On the 4th, 11 wagons were delivered there; on the 5th, 14; on the 6th, 50; on the 7th 44. They are being delivered every day. Regrettably, as a result of the fact... [changes thought] These are wagons with different cargoes, and, partially, with food. But taking into account the fact that there is a very difficult situation there as far as fuel is concerned—that has to be recognized objectively—unloading of wagons is going very poorly there because it is proving impossible to get the cargo out. To date, of the 92 wagons standing there, just 16 have been unloaded in 24 hours. What have we done? today we have brought up a train with 63 tankers of fuel which is standing at the station of Evlakh, 105 km from Stepanakert. It has not yet proved possible to get it to Stepanakert. We hope that we shall manage to resolve this matter. And I'd like to ask the Azerbaijani deputies once again to get involved in tackling this matter, and then the issue of fuel cargoes in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast will have been resolved for quite a long period of time.

Given all the fuel trains stand on the Azerbaijani railway, we can today resolve the matter with 10,000 tonnes and we could resolve it—if they were all let through today—not just for some period of time, but for months, providing Armenia with fuel cargoes.

What difficulties are we coming up against, comrades? The greatest difficulty we are constantly experiencing at the moment is the occurrence of provocations. I must say that the work to lift the blockade is coming up against some provocation or other not just every day but literally every few hours. You have no doubt heard about the helicopters on Vremya. You will no doubt know about the the blowing up of the road-bridge between Stepanakert and Shusha, which was the principal route for vehicles [words indistinct]. You know that our locomotives are periodically being fired on, and we have to work [words indistinct] despite the fact that we put our soldiers and officers of the internal troops on every locomotive.

But this whole wave of endless provocations makes it very difficult to deal with the question of lifting the blockade. We are continuing our work to bring about uninterrupted supplies and to lift the blockade. I have told you about the difficulties and problems that exist in this whole picture. Once again, I hope for much energetic assistance from Supreme Soviet deputies from both republics. It would be of very great use in enabling us to stabilize the situation fully, literally, in the next few days.

To resolve the food problems, and such problems exist in Stepanakert—it has been decided again, yesterday, today and tomorrow—we are using aircraft and helicopters to deliver 160 tonnes of flour, 180 tonnes of sugar, childen's food, and canned food. I won't give the whole list, (?soap as well.) This is to tackle the problems that have arisen there in getting regular supplies and because there is sometimes a problem with wagons arriving carrying spoiled cargo—it is to tackle these problems that we are doing this work.

Yerevan Reports Deputies' Walkout

NC1210123889 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2130 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, delivered a report on the progress of removing the blockade of Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] to the USSR Supreme Soviet meeting yesterday. He outlined train movement, and the content and condition of the freight.

Soon after he delivered this report, all the Armenian deputies from Armenia and NKAO staged a walkout from the congress hall to protest that the Presidium of the session and the assembly do not want to give a political character to the blockade or to punish its organizers and participants.

The walkout was also a protest against the chairman of the session Lukyanov who again attempted to postpone the NKAO debate indefinitely. Our deputies issued a written declaration on this subject. During the recess Primakov, chairman of the Council of Union of the

Supreme Soviet, approached them and tried to persuade them to return to the hall, but our deputies refused.

The Armenian deputies from Armenia and NKAO left the session hall for only that day; today they took part in the work of the committees and commissions as usual.

Deliberation Over Labor Disputes Reported

PM1110144789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by IZVESTIYA parliamentary correspondents A. Davydov, V. Dolganov, and A. Stepovoy: "At the USSR Supreme Soviet's Second Session: Strikes Within the Framework of the Law"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] ...In our previous report from the USSR Supreme Soviet's second session we reported that the 9 October plenary sitting of the chambers was scheduled to examine four questions: Adopting the Law on the Procedure for Resolving Collective Labor Disputes (Conflicts); adopting a resolution on additional measures to stabilize retail prices and improve price formation for basic food and industrial goods making up consumers' budgets; hearing a report by the Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order on regulating trading and purchasing activity by cooperatives and on price formation for goods (services) sold by cooperatives to the population; and deciding how to proceed with further work on the draft law on general principles of leadership of the economy and social sphere in union republics.

As you can see, all these documents rank among those requiring most immediate attention. They are awaited by millions of people, and their adoption is by no means the least important factor on which perestroyka's future depends. We voters felt justified in assuming that the session would manage to work its way through each one of them. But... Even though the plenary sitting lasted much longer than usual, the tired deputies did not feel especially satisfied when they dispersed: They only managed to adopt the Law on the Procedure for Resolving Collective Labor Disputes (Conflicts).

But let us now turn back to the hall where our parliament's chambers were sitting, where the discussion and ratification of the draft law continued, article by article, after the first break.

What were probably the most heated debates developed around Articles 10 and 11 of the draft law. The former talks about the duties of the enterprise administration, the local soviet executive committee, the labor collective involved in the strike, and the organ heading it. The main duties are to ensure the enterprise's continued viability, to safeguard state and public property, and to observe socialist legality and public order.

Amendments to this article were proposed by People's Deputies V.D. Yudin and B.V. Kryzhkov. Whereas the first amendment was purely editorial, the second made a substantive change to the draft law's meaning in this regard. Specifically the deputy suggested that liability for any material damage inflicted on the enterprise and public property as a result of the work stoppage ought to be borne by the strike committee. This amendment, just like the first, was rejected by a majority of votes. The deputies felt that the additions ran contrary to the basic ideas of a law whose purpose is to promote society's further democratization. Nor was there support for B.V. Kryzhkov's proposal concerning criminal liability for work stoppages at work places on a list to be compiled by the administration and the trade union committee.

Some 278 Supreme Soviet members voted to adopt the article as contained in the draft law, with 101 voting against and 36 abstaining.

A considerably larger number of amendments were proposed for Article 11, which provides for banning strikes at enterprises and organizations in railroad and urban transportation (including subways), civil aviation, communications, the power industry, and a number of other sectors. People's Deputies A.N. Krayko, S.M. Ryabchenko, S.I. Nevolin, V.A. Opolinskiy, Ye.U. Kim, and S.V. Pilnikov submitted not only various editorial amendments but also different versions of this article for examination by the session. Everything was put to the vote.

A curious situation developed during the examination of the government's proposal. The Council of Ministers insisted that, in the definition of "subdivisions directly **engaged in** the production of output for defense purpose," the words in boldface should be replaced by the words "associated with..." Some deputies, quite reasonably, put forward the objection that this could make the law too "elastic and loosely applicable to all situations in life." The vote produced the first tied vote in Soviet parliamentary practice: There were 183 deputies "for" and exactly the same number "against," with 31 abstentions. Suddenly, someone recalled that N.N. Gritsenko, chairman of the Soviet of the Union Commission for Labor, Prices, and Social Policy Questions, who had spent almost the entire day on the rostrum, was not casting his vote because he was unable to "interface" with the computer. He had to publicly state his opinion on the government amendment—N.N. Gritsenko was in favor. This changed the number of votes in the first column to 184, but this narrow majority was not enough to pass the amendment: According to Article 115 of the USSR Constitution, a decision can be considered adopted only if a majority of the chambers' members vote for it.

We will not give the results of all the votes that were taken: There were too many of them on that day. There were six proposed amendments to Article 12, four to Article 13.... And so it went on. Deputies Ye.U. Kim, S.I. Nevolin, M.D. Dzhumatova, P.M. Klishchuk, and others proposed a more definite formulation of Article 14, which lays down measures governing proceedings in

respect of participation in an illegal strike. All participants in the discussion agreed that that the court alone can rule on whether a strike is legal or illegal. But when is this to be done, and how? Before the strike begins? But how is it to be determined whether it is legal or not? On the other hand, assume that a strike has begun which inflicts serious damage on the whole of society. What is to be done? Furthermore, practice clearly shows that the court may be snowed under by other equally important cases, and it might postpone the hearing of this one.... Finally, what happens if the court has given its verdict but the enterprise collective disagrees with it and is then unwilling to respect this verdict?

The debate was stormy. People's deputies engaged in an especially keen discussion of an amendment proposed by their colleague S.Ye. Savitskaya: "...Militia and Internal Troops subunits can be used to maintain legality, to put an end to unlawful actions, and for the purpose of ending blockades [deblokirovaniye].... A decision on the use of Army subunits in such cases can be made only by the USSR Supreme Soviet, or by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in the period between sessions."

Neither the commission nor the experts called by it backed this amendment, deciding that it could be included in the draft law on emergency measures which is now being elaborated. But both viewpoints won supporters and opponents. And something which would have seemed obvious resulted in a lengthy clash of deputies' opinions and viewpoints. Probably one of the most considered and apt proposals was made by Deputy V.A. Ivashko: Not to confuse emergency measures with questions concerning the solution of collective labor disputes. The Army and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, he said, have nothing to do with this: The emergency situations developing in our country nowadays are something completely different, and there is no point in making any unnecessary fuss, all that is needed is to simply speed up the adoption of the relevant legislation.

We talked about this with V.A. Ivashko after the sitting ended. The session often overruns its scheduled time, he noted, only because deputies propose additions, variations, and amendments which have nothing to do with the documents being discussed. This gives rise to pointless debates. We should probably have more trust in committee and commission members, who work on draft laws in greater depth and hear specialists' testimony.

Everything is important in a law, right down to the very last comma. It is impossible to disagree with this thought, expressed by A.I. Lukyanov who held the chair at the conclusion of the morning sitting and throughout the evening sitting. This is precisely why, in the opinion of many participants in the session, since we are talking about shifting the emphasis of parliament's work to the activity of Supreme Soviet committees and commissions, the main debates ought to be conducted there and nowhere else. For the purpose of—among others—saving time.

The new law, which is so badly needed by the country, was adopted by a majority of votes following a lengthy article-by-article discussion and a vote.

Let us note this: This is the first major law adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet in its present composition. A good start, to say the least...

A morning and an evening sitting were held 10 October, and on the following days, in accordance with established practice, the second session's work will continue in committees and commissions.

Panel Head on Labor Disputes Draft

PM1110113989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Oct 89 Second Edition p 1

[S. Karkhanin report under the rubric "Kremlin Debates. Opinion of Session Participant": "Paragraph Added to the Law"]

[Text] It is well known that the woolly, unclear wording which studded all manner of normative acts was the cause of numerous conflicts in the past. It enabled them to be interpreted at random and it is no wonder that the law sometimes became a tool in iniquitous matters. That is why anyone who assumes that the current events at the session are less dramatic than, say, those during the formation of the government would probably be mistaken. Circumstances that affect the future of thousands of people lie behind the paragraphs of the future law on the procedure for regulating collective labor disputes. The value of every word here is measured in terms of social justice.

Should the item banning strikes be applied to those engaged in producing defense industry output or to those involved in this production? It is clear that the second wording affects considerably more workers, engineers, and technicians. Yet it is only a difference of a word. After a stormy debate it gave cause for a hitherto unprecedented event—an equal number of votes for and against the amendment. N.N. Gritsenko, chairman of the Soviet of the Union Commission for Labor, Prices, and Social Policy Questions, was on the rostrum at that moment and his vote did not enter the electronic system. Nikolay Nikolayevich spoke in favor of the amendment put by the government, that is in favor of stipulating "associated" industries. Nonetheless the amendment was not passed: It did not gain the requisite majority during the vote counting in the chambers.

If we think about this episode it becomes clear that it was not two terms that clashed but two approaches to a problem whose role, as events in the Kuzbass and the Transcaucasus showed, is becoming increasingly significant. Perhaps the essence of the disagreements was formulated precisely by one deputy: "There is no abstract democracy, it is always specific. Thus, should some people's right to strike violate others' right to live

a normal life?" Hence the heated debates about in which sectors and subdivisions of the economy strikes are inadmissible.

N.N. Gritsenko moderated the entire morning sitting from the rostrum. He told the participants in the session about the recommendations put forward by the working group, which generalized the comments and proposals on the draft law. His commission carried out this analysis along with the Committee on Legislation since any strike is connected in one way or another with the interests of the working people. Moreover, as rector of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] Higher School of the Trade Union Movement, Nikolay Nikolayevich may be qualified to judge the role of the trade unions in situations involving strikes.

That is why I asked him to comment on the progress in the work on the draft law and the nature of the debate.

[Gritsenko begins] As is well known, this kind of law did not previously exist in our country, there was only a document on individual labor disputes. Now there is a real economic base for collective labor conflicts to occur in connection with the transfer to economic accountability and lease relations. Consequently, our draft law is no tribute to fashion but a reaction to objective changes in the country's socioeconomic life. Our commission's work was very intense and protracted. We adopted the first version of the document at the summer session 2 August. Then we examined many various amendments and comments. After the publication of the draft law, the working group set about analyzing the proposals it received. In addition to people's deputies, we were helped by specialists from the Council of Ministers, the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, the AUCCTU, and scientific establishments—they were the experts.

The document was discussed in labor collectives and approximately 100 proposals were received—both generalized and individual. Incidentally, we wanted a special stand to be set up at the Supreme Soviet for these letters and cables so that people's deputies could familiarize themselves with them. We studied all the proposals with the Committee on Legislation and certain variant opinions arose. For instance, our commission believed that an arbitration service to resolve collective labor disputes should be attached to a court. The Committee on Legislation in turn thought that this arbitration service should be an independent body and then the responsibility of the disputing sides would be heightened. As a result of conciliation procedure we decided to adopt the stance of our colleagues from the legislative committee. By and large compromise solutions were found on all issues.

We received 47 amendments to the draft law from deputies relating to 10 articles of the document. All this was also examined by the working group and by experts. As a result the Supreme Soviet was presented with our findings. It is characteristic that the amendments proposed by deputies accord in many respects with those that we received from the voters. But there are a number of alarming cables, mainly from enterprises. Production workers report that, owing to strikes at associated enterprises, plants have to teeter on the brink of shutting down the manufacturing process owing to shortages of raw materials and spare parts. This means that the plan for social development is under threat. People appeal to the Supreme Soviet and demand that a law be adopted as quickly as possible to regulate labor conflicts to ensure that where possible they do not take the form of strikes. [Gritsenko ends]

This is where our brief interview with N.N. Gritsenko ended. I would like to add just one thing. Every vote cast by members of the Supreme Soviet either against a particular wording or against a particular draft law is becoming increasingly weighty. Voters naturally want to know how their elected people's deputy votes. The electronic system operating in the conference hall makes it possible to obtain a breakdown of every round of votes by name, provided it is not a secret ballot. The procedure for informing the voters about it has not as yet been elaborated. Although there is foreign experience of this—using the periodical press, special anthologies, and television programs. It obviously makes sense to think about this now. Convenient desktop buttons for deputies have increased the degree of anonymity of the decision made by each one of them although deputies themselves probably do not desire such anonymity and are not afraid of their responsibility to their voters. So, the problem of "voting glasnost," if it can be described as such, is a purely technical one and will not be very difficult.

The draft laws on the cooperative system, "freezing" prices, and local self-management lie ahead. Every paragraph and every vote will be of fundamental importance. This week for deputies is full of matters that will probably have extensive public repercussions throughout the country. The session is continuing its work.

Abalkin Speaks on Economic Ills 10 Oct

PM1110135789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Oct 89 Second Edition p 1

["Abbreviated version" of speech by L.I. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, delivered at the 10 October second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, under the general heading "Kremlin Debates": "Lever of Stability"]

[Text] The sitting was addressed by L.I. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers:

The government is prepared to accept the Supreme Soviet's instructions and draw up proposals—perhaps jointly with the Supreme Soviet commissions and committees—on resolving the entire range of problems that have built up in the sphere of the consumer market. I would like to comment on the draft resolution submitted

by the government. Above all, it stresses that the Supreme Soviet considers it necessary to take measures in line with the basic principles of the economic reform. We want this position to be placed on record, and we would like it to be clear as to whether we are taking steps in the direction of the further development and deepening of the economic reform—of the need for which everyone is convinced—or whether we are making a conscious decision to slow it down for a definite period and reject the introduction of its methods.

These are not just general provisions. We recently adopted a decision to reduce the proportion of state orders in the coal industry and in the production of oil, cement, and many other types of output, giving enterprises the right to sell at contractual prices any output produced over and above state orders. Will we retain this right for labor collectives or abolish it? Somewhat earlier we made a decision, which was also dictated by long-term concerns, to switch as of next year to contractual prices for the delivery of vegetables, potatoes, and other products by collective and state farms, other agricultural enterprises, peasants, and leaseholders. Will we rescind this decision and introduce strict administrative control over these prices or retain it? And how can we restrain or "freeze" retail prices in such circumstances? This can only be done in one way: by introducing additional subsidies from the state budget to cover the gap between retail and purchase prices, and then we should include this in the budget. Either we further increase the budget deficit or we cut appropriations for other social and production needs. There are no other sources.

The following is stressed in the government draft: We propose adopting a necessary range of measures aimed at resolving three issues: stabilizing the consumer market, restraining unjustified growth in monetary income, and increasing controls over the growth of prices for prime necessities. We cannot divorce one statement from another in this package. We know what dangers are posed during a destabilization of the market by such prohibitive measures, which—given the appearance of all being well with price levels—could lead to the development of speculation and the "black economy."

To a considerable extent prices reflect the overall imbalances in the market. If we are talking today about inflation—which is very often identified in people's minds with price growth, although these are different phenomena—inflation has two components. The first is price growth and the second is growth in incomes that are not backed up by the appropriate supply of goods. Recently, as analysis shows, this component of inflation—unjustified incomes growth—has been playing a dominant role. I think that even on these issues we should calmly look at the phenomenon as an integral whole and weigh everything up unemotionally.

Let us contrast the various methods used by the USSR State Committee for Statistics and the trade unions to calculate the prices index, compare their methods, and see whose calculations are more accurate and what the real dynamic of these processes is. We are continuing to substantially run ahead of the 1989 targets for growth in the population's monetary income while we are substantially lagging behind in the fulfillment of production plans. If the economy develops in the way it has been developing in recent months, there can be no stabilization either in the market or in prices. Indicators of growth rates and volumes are complicated to use in assessing dynamics and do not always reflect actual processes. But here is some information worth considering. In September the rate of growth in industrial output compared with the same month last year was 0.3 percent. In 10 of the 15 union republics industrial output was lower than in September last year. Can we really achieve or stabilize anything under these conditions?

One more point: The entire process of the erosion of cheap ranges of goods and the desire to make a profit and produce unjustified income growth does not start in some offices somewhere in the government or the central economic departments. It starts at enterprise labor collectives when the output plan for a corresponding year is divided up. Let's start with this, let's appeal to labor collectives and ask that when they are determining their plan targets for next year they make provision for the priority output of goods that are in high demand, goods for children and pensioners, and cheap goods.

The draft plan and budget for 1990 are now before the Supreme Soviet and its commissions and committees. They set out concepts for priority measures which could be implemented over the course of the year. In discussing these measures we may find a solution to the problems envisaged in the year ahead. I am now talking about additional measures over and above those proposed by the draft. As for the question of subsidies for food production, these too are included in the budget for 1990. We can consider them and determine their expediency, but the resolution of these issues depends on a long-term program. And I think that in the next few months the government will be able to put before the Supreme Soviet or the Congress of People's Deputies a long-term program for the country's socioeconomic development, including a program for deepening the economic reform and phasing it in, which would stipulate specific solutions to the questions of prices, the makeup of a "basket of consumer goods," the cutting of subsidies, and the redistribution of incomes in favor of certain social groups of the population.

Committees Discuss 1990 Draft Plan, Budget 11 Oct

LD1110124389

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1000 GMT on 11 October broadcasts a 4-minute report by correspondent Igor Zorin from Moscow's Kalinin Prospekt [Avenue] where the Supreme Soviet's 7 commissions and 11 committees are in session. The report begins by noting that the Commision on Issues of Transportation, Communications, and Information is discussing the 1990 plan and budget this morning. Zorin

points out that all of the country's leading transportation officials were invited to the meeting to discuss ensuring the country's viability next year.

This was also debated at the Committee on People's Health Care, Zorin continues. A wide range of subjects was covered: medical equipment, the production of medicine, and physical education.

The Committee on Science, People's Education, Culture, and Upbringing is forming the final version of its concept of the 1990 plan and budget, Zorin notes, and three subcommittees have produced opinions which have to be reduced to a single document.

Turning to the Committee on Issues of Economic Reform Zorin says it has produced a conclusion consisting of five main and seven lesser points with regard to the 1990 draft plan for economic and social development. Zorin notes what he considers to be the "reformist motifs" stated at the committee by economist Pavel Bunich— Point one: "The measures to develop economic reform which have been planned for 1990 do not correspond to the crucial nature of the current situation, and do not take enough steps to overcome it." These areas of the draft plan and budget need to be "radically changed," and proposals are set out in the conclusion. Point two: In 1990 there should be provision for "the mass development of leasehold relations in the national economy;" cooperative enterprises, of which there are currently 700 in the USSR, should grow fivefold, and they should be subject to the unified taxation system, with the tax on earnings growth being abolished for them. Point three: The committee proposes that central planning and financial bodies should be made aware that the deficit implicit in the 1990 budget is inadmissible. Point four: The Supreme Soviet should examine the issues restraining the development of economic reform. The committee agreed with these conclusions, Zorin adds.

Zorin concludes his report by saying that the commissions and committees of the Supreme Soviet will continue work until this evening.

Further on Draft Plan, Budget Talks

LD1110201989 Moscow TASS in English 1917 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 11 TASS—The USSR Supreme Soviet continued its work today as deputies discussed the country's draft plan and budget for 1990 in the committees and commissions.

Members of the Agrarian and Food Committee expressed their dissatisfaction with the agroindustrial sections of the draft plan and budget. The deputies were especially opposed to imbalance between plan targets and financial, material and technological resources. The committee will submit its findings to the planning, budget and finance commission of the Council of the Union.

Priority should be given to developing fixed assets of production, strengthening the material base of relevant branches, such is the general opinion of deputies, who took part in the meeting of the Transport, Communications and Informatics Commission of this council.

The government failed in its drafts of the plan and budget for 1990 to overcome the left-over principle of financing education, science and culture, the Committee of Science, Popular Education, Culture and Upbringing, was told. Deputies made a few specific proposals aimed at improving the documents.

This week all parliamentary bodies will submit their decisions on the plan and budget and by the end of the next week the Planning, Budget and Finance commission shall prepare a general document to be tabled before the two councils of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Platform on Nationalities Policy Assessed

LD1110231489 Moscow TASS in English 2204 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 11 TASS—The platform of the Soviet Communist Party on the nationality policy will become viable only if its implementation will become an issue of concern for the broad popular masses.

This was stressed on Wednesday at the session of the parliamentary Commission for Ethnic Policies and Inter-Ethnic Relations.

The deputies stressed that thousands of people, including members of parliament, contributed to the working out of the platform approved at the September full-scale meeting of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

It is not accidental that the document contains numerous references to the first Congress of People's Deputies.

During the discussion of the draft platform, nearly 60,000 letters were received by the drafters from working people offering their amendments, remarks and proposals.

The letters were permeated with concern for the destiny of big and small ethnic communities. Discussions were held in work collectives. Scientists met in round-table debates to suggest alternative opinions.

Active work on the draft continued at the plenum itself. The final variant of the platform resulted from comparing various viewpoints.

Positively assessing the platform on the whole, some speakers note at the same time that the platform is not perfect. An opinion was voiced, for example, that the platform provided no sufficient guarantees of stronger sovereignty of smaller ethnic groups in republics within the framework of socialist federation.

The platform, naturally, does not pretend to be the final say on the matter, for the nationality policy is based on

continuous creativity, the ability to respond to new problems and find effective mechanisms for settling disputes and to take account of the life processes' genuine dialectics.

Consideration of Gdlyan Case Continues

LD1210023189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2235 GMT 11 Oct 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] Moscow. The USSR Supreme Soviet session continues here. Proceedings are continuing in the commissions and committees. The work of the commission to investigate the circumstances surrounding the events in Tbilisi on 9 April this year is nearing completion. [passage omitted]

Things are more complicated in the commission set up to check material relating to the activity of the investigators' group of the USSR Procuracy headed by Telman Gdlyan. At today's session, there was not just one chairman as before. At the previous session some deputies expressed a lack of confidence in Roy Medvedev. The commission is now headed by three co-chairmen: In addition to Medvedev, they are deputies Nikolay Strukov and Veniamin Yarin.

Today the commission heard from representatives of legal and investigative bodies of Uzbekistan. Altogether 16 people were invited. Alas, it is too early to speak of the commission completing its work.

Parliamentary Committees Call for More Funds

LD1210110289 Moscow World Service in English 1000 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] The Economic Reform Committee of the Soviet parliament has found that the measures suggested by the government for next year are insufficient to fundamentally reform the economy and fail to meet the requirements of the current critical situation.

Another parliamentary committee, which is responsible for science, public education and culture, maintains government allocations for these major social spheres have been insufficient. The committee has demanded extra funds for the development of science, education, and culture, and pointed to the appropriate sources of funding. Member of parliament Vladimir Belyayev of Moscow suggested that the money earned by the industrial facilities monitored by institutions of higher learning should stay in the sphere of education rather than be transferred to the national budget.

Political & Social

Continued Developments in NKAO Blockade Reported

Rail Blockade Extended to Georgia

LD1210103189 Moscow World Service in English 1000 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Nationalists in Azerbaijan have extended their railway blockade of Armenia to the neighboring republic of Georgia. The Soviet railways minister has told the press in Moscow that extremists in Azerbaijan had called on the National Front in Georgia to stop freight trains en route to Armenia. When the front refused, the Azerbaijani nationalists extended the blockade of oil supplies and foodstuffs to Georgia itself.

About 85 percent of all railway-shipped supplies to Armenia normally pass through Azerbaijan, but because of the blockade, many trains have been rerouted through Georgia. Since the extension of the blockade to Georgia, Minister Konarev said, the situation in the republic had seriously deteriorated.

About earlier reports that trains with foodstuffs started rolling last week between Azerbaijan and Armenia, the minister said this had involved only 203 freight cars over the 6-day period.

Tension Follows Shooting Incident

LD1210091289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] The situation remains tense in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. Our special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko reports from Stepanakert.

The heat of passions has not abated in Stepanakert since the incident which took place on Tuesday evening. Rumors, conjectures and semi-official versions have become mixed. It is difficult to say precisely who is to blame for what happened, and who is right. The military assert that the column of cadets departing for Kirovobad and then on home to Sverdlovsk was met by local residents with stones and rifle fire. Local residents, on the other hand, are divided in their views. Some say that they began throwing stones because they believed there were Azeris among the column. Others insist that the cadets were the first to open fire.

The competent bodies are now carrying out an investigation, and soon it will all become clear. This is a sad affair: Who benefits from this sort of thing, people here ask. Of course, neither the military nor the civilians. Until now, nothing of this kind has happened in Stepanakert, and one hopes that it was a tragic coincidence and misunderstanding. Normal relations have to be restored between the military and the people of Stepanakert.

Another event was devoted to the normalization of the situation in the region. A meeting was held in Baku by secretaries of raykoms of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, chairmen of rayon executive committees, and representatives of the law-enforcement bodies of rayons adjacent to the NKAO situated on the routes linking the NKAO with Armenia. The matter of the complete lifting of the blockade from the NKAO and the adoption of vigorous measures to restore mutual understanding between the populations of the two nationalities, the Armenians and Azeris, was discussed. It was noted that a zone of reconciliation must be entered, that people must move, step by step, toward restoring normal relations. Well, these are good intentions. If only they could be carried out as soon as possible, because people are tired of waiting.

Yerevan Reports 6 Wounded, 1 Dead

NC1210140989 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] On 10 October at almost 2130 an extraordinary incident took place in Armenavan, on the outskirts of Stepanakert, when cars carrying Sverdlovsk Fire Brigade School students were passing through here. They were going from Shushi to Kirovabad. The convoy was stoned near the Construction-Repair Administration.

The students retaliated with weapons. As a result, six local Armenians were wounded and were urgently taken to the hospital and one of them died there later. The NKAO Interior Affairs Department and the Stepanakert Interior Affairs Political Department joint investigatory group arrived immediately on the scene. As was stated at the NKAO Special Administration Committee, some of the students have slight injuries. They received medical care at Kirovabad. Twelve students who used arms have been held in Stepanakert for the investigation.

The city's residents believe that the incident was a real provocation and blame the leadership of the Commandant of the Special Military District for the incident. The population is also demanding an explanation about why the students fired into the center of the city, at Lenin and Kirov streets, where no one was threatening them. People are also (?suspicious) about the claims some students were injured. If it is true, why were they not given medical care in Stepanakert?

The people of Stepanakert also point out that the local law enforcement bodies were not warned about the passage of an army [zinvorakan] convoy. If they had been, they could have taken appropriate measures to ensure the convoy's safe passage. The Special Administration Committee and the Commandant of the Special Military District also believe that the incident was provoked in order to retain the tense feeling in the region against the servicemen.

Which of them is right? The investigation will answer this question.

The tragedy agitated people's emotions, already on edge because of the extremely strange stance of the central authorities concerning the solution to the NKAO problem and the need for urgent lifting of the blockade of the Armenian Republic and NKAO. Thus, the NKAO's Armenian population supports the action of the people's deputies from NKAO and Armenia who staged a walkout from the USSR Supreme Soviet session in protest.

I think that our deputies acted correctly, said Lidya Arutyunyan, engineer at the Stepanakert Production Combine. There is a limit to patience. When they stubbornly refuse to heed the voice of an entire people—in particular to the voice of a people who experienced a terrible tragedy to which almost all the countries in the world responded—there remains nothing else to do to their elected representatives but to express their resolute protest in this manner.

I have lived through the war and have faced death with that firm believe that the country in which my children and people live would make them happy. However, the events related to the NKAO problem for the last 6 months have seriously shaken my belief, said Abkar Danielyan, party and war veteran and senior journalist of the oblast. I could not even dare to think that during peacetime our people could be subjected to physical and moral genocide in the Soviet Union. Yet, this is a bitter truth today. I am a 72-year- old communist, and if I had been at the congress hall of the country's Supreme Soviet I would have acted exactly like the Armenian deputies. I am sure that this is how the representatives of all other peoples would have acted if a similar injustice were done to them.

Criminal Proceedings Instituted

LD1110191389 Moscow TASS in English 1856 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 11 TASS—An incident took place in Stepanakert, Nagorno-Karabakh, late on Tuesday between guards of a convoy of cadets from the Sverdlovsk firefighting school of the USSR Interior Ministry, who were travelling from Shusha to Kirovabad, and local citizens.

As a result, there are injured on both sides. One of the residents of Stepanakert has since died of the wounds inflicted.

Criminal proceedings have been instituted over the incident.

No Fuel, Foodstuffs on Trains

LD1110230789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [V. Nazaryan, correspondent] [Video shows correspondent at a railway station bearing the name Yeraskh] This is Yeraskh. There are just a few kilometers from here to the sorting station of Norashen on the Azerbaijanian Railway. We have often been coming here recently to meet the trains, those which at last have lived to see the green signal of the semaphore going to Armenia. It must be said that traffic here has picked up markedly. For example, today 18 trains will be sent along the Norashen section. Nine of them had already gone past by night. But this is what is important: As previously, the rolling-stock from Azerbaijan has been sorted strictly—without fuel and without foodstuffs. [Video shows freight cars passing, some of them carrying temporary huts]

[Nazaryan, questioning railway worker] Are you the driver of this train? What have you brought from Norashen?

[Railwayman] It is only dry cargo.

[Nazaryan] There is no petroleum?

[Railwayman] No. We are not loading petroleum. We are not loading foodstuffs.

[A. Belevin, railwayman from Moscow Railways] The railways should be independent in principle from different ethnic emotions etc. Work is work. Especially if one considers that this artery joins up the entire country, and all life in our country may stop without it. It is necessary to protect it from all these encroachments, by all possible means. [Video shows railwaymen with trains passing in the background]

Attacks Continue Along Railway

LD1110225989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [M. Mamedov] In the next day or two, the flow of freight to the neighboring republic [Armenia] will increase markedly. The trains from the Azerbaijan railway will be sent not as previously with two joints, but with three. The specialists believe that in 3 or 4 days this will enable the congestion to be eliminated on the railways and on trade sections and will enable people to get into a normal rhythm of work. However, the situation on the main line is nevertheless tense. The restoration of traffic does not at all signify safety for the work of railwaymen. [Video shows freight cars moving on a stretch of railway]

[A. Sh. Alekperov, Azerbaijanian transport procurator] This is occurring on the Mindzhivan-Megri section, which is located in the Azerbaijanian Railway but passes on the territory of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. That is, on 7 October at 2250 at the 347th kilometer of the route, at the station at Karchivan, a freight train locomotive was fired upon by unknown persons. And then, that same day at 2330, unknown persons shot at the locomotive of a freight train at the same station, already in the 348th kilometer in the vicinity of a water pumping station. By the way, I want to note that internal troops were accompanying the trains in both instances. And at the same station, internal troops discovered an explosive device 50 meters from

the track. Criminal cases have been initiated due to these facts, and investigation is under way. Fortunately, there are no casualties.

[Mamedov] Numerous facts have appeared which bear witness to the fact that freight is arriving in Armenia in an incomplete state. To what extent is this correct?

[Alekperov] The flow of freight to Armenia has increased. And therefore, many abandoned railcars remain not only on the territory of Azerbaijan, but also on the territory of the entire Caucasian railway which is our neighbor. In connection with this, a large amount of work is being conducted at the station at (Dzherimbel), and there, due to the fact that there are no proper premises for the equipment, trains can not be uncoupled there and cannot be checked promptly. But over this period we have initiated many criminal cases concerning both these facts and other facts, in order to discover the culprit and bring him to justice. Our transport militia has drafted many documents when freight arrives for us from the neighboring railway in an incomplete form.

Armenians Call for Action

AU1210090889 Paris AFP in English 2209 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, Oct 11 (AFP)—The Armenian nationalist Karabakh Committee Wednesday called on Armenians at a mass rally to organise self-defence groups to protest an economic blockade by neighbouring Azerbaijan, a committee spokesman said.

Karabakh Committee member Ambartsum Galstyan told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE, contacted in Yerevan by telephone, that participants at the rally of some 100,000 people had chanted "independence".

The rally was organised by Armenian pro-independence militants separate from the mainstream Armenian National Movement which is more moderate and was set up by the Karabakh Committee after the release from detention of its 11 members.

Mr. Galstyan said the Karabakh Committee's demands were read out at the demonstration in central Opera square, where dozens of youths have staged a sit-in for the past month in a protest against the military draft.

The Committee notably called for the declaration of an "emergency situation" in Armenian districts on the border with Azerbaijan, and the creation of self-defence detachments.

The statement also called on Armenians to refuse to join the Soviet army for their mandatory military service as the army "is doing nothing to protect Armenians".

The Armenian movement has radicalised as a result of the blockade imposed more than one month ago by the Azeris, and after the death Wednesday of an Armenian fatally wounded in the disputed territory of Nagorno-Karabakh during a clash with the army on Tuesday.

Soviet television news said that rail traffic from Azerbaijan was again disrupted on Wednesday, but said at the end of the bulletin that "the lines have been cleared completely".

The Soviet army has been sent to the region to clear the line.

The Karabakh Committee also called on Armenian deputies to leave the current parliamentary session in Moscow and travel to Yerevan for a session of the local Supreme Soviet which the Committee wants to be held on Saturday.

The Karabakh Committee hopes that a local session would reaffirm Armenian sovereignty over Nagorno-Karabakh, which is held by Azerbaijan, and assert "political autonomy" for Armenia, Mr. Galstyan said.

Conflicting Reports on Rail Traffic

LD1210124289 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Excerpts] The situation around the Transcaucasian railway is still tense. We have received two conflicting reports on the same day. One says that rail traffic from Azerbaijan to Armenia has again been blocked by the Azerbaijani Popular Front; the other information says traffic has been fully restored, that trains go through with military guards.

This is an unusual situation, to put it mildly, writes our commentator Vitaliy Gurov. One constituent Soviet republic blockading another. Fuel and food supplies to Armenia have been cut off. The Azerbaijani Popular Front has called on the women, children, and old men to block the railway to Armenia. Even on the best of days only slightly more than half the usual number of trains go through to Armenia, and the cars with essential supplies are kept in the railyards in Azerbaijan.

Small-scale armed fighting keeps flaring up on the borders and in Nagorno Karabakh. And now this new trouble, a railway blockade. Emergency measures have succeeded in coping with the worst of the problem, but the situation is unstable and threatens to revert to the most acute forms.

Rail Minister Konarev Addresses News Conference

Comments on Transcaucasia Situation

LD1110232189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent Yuriy Rostov] The main theme of today's news conference in Moscow at the Railways Ministry was the situation on the railways of Transcaucasia. It was reported at the news conference that trains today once again ceased to run from Azerbaijan to Armenia. Comrade Konarev, USSR railways minister, spoke. [Video shows Konarev speaking at news conference]

[Begin Konarev recording] Individual forces, in particular the Azerbaijan People's Front, are simply displaying an aggressive attitude. Certain circles representing the informal organizations of Armenia are not lagging behind in this matter either. [End recording]

[Rostov] One of the main difficulties in covering the events in Transcaucasia is the absence of objective information. Disagreements on ethnic grounds between Armenians and Azerbaijanis have caused assessments and even factual data coming from the two republics frequently to differ radically. [video shows Rostov interviewing Konarev]

[Begin recording] [Rostov] On the Vremya program we have a rather complicated situation. We received a report from our correspondent in Azerbaijan who said that the trains are running. Virtually every report coming in from Armenia says that the blockade is continuing virtually uninterrupted and has been continuing for the whole of the past month. Where does the truth lie?

[Konarev] If one makes a comparison with the normal scale of traffic, the level of traffic today is somewhere about 65-70 percent. But the most unpleasant thing is that this Azerbaijan People's Front is undertaking measures to prevent the movement into Armenia of trains with oil products.

[Rostov] How does the People's Front control the movement of trains? Do they have pickets there?

[Konarev] There is a mass of people lying and sitting on the rails. What is totally impermissible is that they use women and children. [end recording]

[Rostov] The final thing I want to say is that attempts to resolve interethnic contradictions by criminal means threaten democracy. Mass crimes demand a response in the form of emergency measures. Emergency measures are a poor help to the development of democratization. As you know attempts are being made in the government and in the Supreme Soviet to find a way out of the situation which has arisen. One would like to hope that a way to reduce tension will be found. [end recording]

[Announcer] We have just heard from the Ministry of Railways that railway traffic has been fully restored between Azerbaijan and Armenia.

Details Railway Disruption

LD1110213189 Moscow TASS in English 2028 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 11 TASS—The situation on Soviet railroads remains a difficult one. As the railroads minister Nikolay Konarev told a press conference today, over 100,000 cars have been taken out of circulation, thus disrupting transportation of farming produce, imported goods, benzene, kerosene and diesel fuel. The upshot: National economy has sustained a loss of 1.3 billion roubles.

The minister said that the railroads performed stably in the first half of the year, overfulfilling the assignments for cargo and passenger carriage and helping to achieve the chief economic targets. The profits netted by the railroads over and above plan amounted to 22 million roubles. Starting from April, however, and especially in the third quarter, events followed which sharply aggravated the work of transport and are still causing huge damage both to the rail traffic and the whole of economy.

The strikes and interethnic strife have upset the smooth rail traffic.

Form 5 to 17 September the rail traffic between the Azerbaijan railroad and the Yerevan section of the Transcaucasian railway passing through Norashen and Idzhevan was discontinued. After the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted on October 5 its decision on urgent measures to ensure smooth performance of rail traffic and basic sectors of national economy, traffic was resumed. This was made possible by energetic measures.

Last night, however, Soviet Deputy Interior Minister Stasis Lisauskas told the press conference, extremist groups again caused interruptions in rail traffic.

He expressed the hope that people's deputies from Armenia and Azerbaijan and the governments of the two republics will do their best to ensure strict compliance with the Supreme Soviet decision.

As was reported by the Railroads Ministry this evening, traffic has been restored.

Criticizes 'Extremists'

PM1210142989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Oct 89 Second Edition p 2

[B. Borisov report: "In the USSR Ministry of Railways. Sabotage and Wrecking."]

[Text] This is how Minister of Railways N. Konarev described the prevailing critical situation with railroad freight shipments to Armenia, at a press conference held in the USSR Ministry of Railways yesterday.

"There are 222 trains destined for Armenia choking the North Caucasus, Southern, Donetsk, Volga, Azerbaijan, and Transcaucasian Railroads," Nikolay Semenovich said. "This is due to interference by extremists in Azerbaijan, who block the passage of trains to Armenia via the Azerbaijan Railroad. In order to somehow maintain life in Armenia, freight is flowing along the extremely overloaded single-track Tuapse-Adler-Samtrediya-Tbilisi passenger line. But matters have reached the point where extremists from Azerbaijan have addressed the Georgian People's Front with a demand not to allow cars with freight for healing the republic's wound inflicted by the earthquake to cross their republic's territory.

But the Georgian people did not succumb to provocations and, in these complex conditions, are doing everything possible to deliver freight to Armenia: There should be 550 cars moving to Georgia through Tuapse, with only 60 of them going to Armenia, but we are now letting through 650 cars for Armenia and only 50 for Georgia. The extremists in Azerbaijan responded promptly: They banned the transit of food and petroleum products to Georgia. Not a single car carrying the aforementioned freight was let through between 10 and 30 September, and this has seriously complicated the situation in the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic. Petroleum products for either Armenia or Georgia are not allowed through the Azerbaijan Railroad today. Some 52 tanker trains are standing idle. As far as food supplies are concerned, a total of 203 cars were allowed through Azerbaijan to Armenia in the first 6 days of October."

Deputy Minister on Stoppage

LD1110191889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] Today, assembled journalists were informed in the USSR Ministry of Railways about the situation on the country's railways and in particular about the situation on the Azerbaijan railway. Participating in this meeting were not only the representatives of the Ministry of Railways, but also of the USSR Procuracy and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. And this is what Stasis Genrikhovich Lisauskas, deputy minister of internal affairs said in particular:

[Begin Recording] [Lisauskas] The stoppage on the railway is a consequence of the very complex processes which are going on in the Transcaucasian republics. The trains came to a halt last night. And what was the pretext for this? Yesterday, at 11 o'clock in Migri, two lorries carrying collective farm members of Azerbaijani nationality from the village of Nyuvadi, were stopped for a check. During inspection of the vehicles a home made explosive device was discovered on one of the drivers. Naturally, the driver was detained in keeping with the law, and this detention was well founded. An investigation is being carried out, or, as we could say, follow-up checking is still underway today.

The response to this action was the halting of railway traffic—the engine crews did not set off. And why didn't they set off? They did not set off because, as it was reported to me—and I refer to this in order to be objective—they reported in Baku that five Azerbaijanis have been taken hostages. And this, if you please, is the beginning of a conflict. These conflicts are occurring every day and every night, and I am not just talking about what is taking place in the railway alone. The railway has turned out to be the most vulnerable spot with regard to this matter and it is used by all forces for whom this is advantageous with great success. Let me present concrete facts. We have in ery fresh memory of the explosion of a bridge on the outskirts of Stepanakert. This was reported. And today I report: There was yet another attempt to cause an explosion on the Agdan-Fizuli high road at 2200. Yesterday, there were four exchanges of fire in 24 hours.

And under the conditions in which the internal affairs bodies found themselves, we are doing everything to prevent bloodshed. And if this broadcast of our is put on the air, I would like to turn to both the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis. The time has come to realilze... [changes thought] after all you do understand that we need to realize the danger of future consequences. The most vigorous measures aimed at stabilizing the situation were undertaken. The Ministry of Internal Affairs leadership was entering directly into contacts with the leaders of both informal and formal associations, one would say. We are simply all the time invoking common sense, but this is not helping. When I was in Azerbaijan, demands were put forward on the following point: The trains will not set off until the Azerbiajani People's Front is registered. This took place. The Azerbaijani Council of Minsters registered the People's Front and premises were allocated to it in Baku. The leaderships are commencing contacts. Nobody wants a conflict situation, but it is increasing. I cannot confirm that personally each of the engine drivers had himself rejected to drive the trains last night. No, pressure was simply exerted on them.

For us, each night brings pain. Among those there are people of my age, there are also younger ones, there are your children and probably your grandchildren, who are serving in our internal troops. These soldiers are standing day and night in bullet-proof vests on the roads, under the bridges, they are freezing. And, so tell me please, why must I and the internal troops commanders worry for the son, whom we took to the Army, worry that he might not come back! Don't we have the right to (?actually) call the political leadership of these republics to account? Please excuse me, perhaps the emotions are too much...

[Unidentified speaker interrupting] You are quite right [word indistinct].

[Lisauskas] Two cadets were injured last night, three internal troops doctors were taken hostage last night. It was necessary to use armed force in order to free them. And further, Comrades I would like you to excuse me for not using the facts which have not been completely verified. Today, senior leaders from the Ministry of Internal Affairs are there, on the spot and they will look into it. As far as all these subversive actions are concerned, then I can state with all responsibility that criminal cases have been instituted, that the investigation is being carried out. We mostly know, or have an idea, who was the culprit in a number of cases, but not in all cases. It will evidently be possible to say so when the investigation is finished. [end recording]

News Conference at Armenian Mission in Moscow

LD1110202289 Moscow TASS in English 1917 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 11 TASS—The situation which has developed in relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan and around Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region was the subject of a press conference for Soviet and foreign newsmen, held in Armenia's permanent mission with the USSR Council of Ministers in Moscow.

Armenia's permanent representative Eduard Aikazyan said that in September and October his republic ran a shortfall of over two million tons of different products, of which 1,200,000 tons were intended for the earthquake-stricken areas.

Because of the blockade, Aikazyan said, losses of Armenian industry alone amounted to 200 million rubles with a shortage of consumer goods and food products worth 130 million rubles.

Thousands of tons of benzene, diesel fuel and mazout [as received] have not been delivered and there are difficulties in getting the harvested crops from the fields.

People's deputy of the USSR from Nagorno-Karabakh B. Dadamyan said:

"We do not think that the blame lies with the Azerbaijan people. The responsibility rests with those who are deliberately stirring interethnic strife between our peoples."

People's deputies of the USSR from Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh supported the need to devise a single mechanism for rectifying the present situation.

Armenian Council of Ministers on Refugee Figures

NC1110184889 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0545 GMT 10 Oct 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Excerpt] According to a report by ARMENPRES, at a meeting of the Armenian Council of Ministers the problems of the refugees who have immigrated into Armenia from Azerbaijan were discussed. It was pointed out that as a result of the exacerbation of interethnic tension 215,000 Armenians have come to our republic; nearly 21,000 have gone to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast; more that 5,200 are in Moscow; and nearly 25,000 Armenian refugees are in the Russian federation and parts of northern Caucasus. [passage omitted].

MOSCOW NEWS Reports NKAO Situation 8 Oct

PM1110140689 Mosocw MOSCOW NEWS in English No 41, 8 Oct 89 p 5

[Andrey Pralnikov report: "In Mountainous Karabakh"]

[Text] Stepanakert is a city falling into decay, this is the result of strikes and the many-month-long blockade. For over 18 months now we have been reading or hearing about "the situation in and around Nagorno-Karabakh." After the aggravation of relations between Azerbaijan and the latter Autonomous Republic (part of Azerbaijan), it became necessary to make emergency repairs in the economic links connecting industrial enterprises. Airports in Georgia and Russia that receive and relay cargoes for Karabakh and Armenia are functioning at peak capacity, since Armenia has also been cut off all September. Throughout the USSR mothers whose sons have been sent as soldiers to maintain public order in that region have reason to worry.

Arkadiy Volskiy, Chairman of the Special Administrative Rule Committee for Nagorno-Karabakh, told the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee in September that Azerbaijan and Armenia were on the verge of ethnic war. People are still being killed. In his opinion, predictions that the events in the region may well lead to even greater catastrophe is gloomy but realistic.

Trucks hauling fuel, food and medicine are being sent to Nagorno-Karabakh. They are protected by machine guns and armoured carriers. But even these are not always able to get through. Colonel Pavel Voronin, who was on duty at the headquarters of the special area commandant's office, told us: "Not long ago, a fleet of trucks was leaving the settlement of Lachin, in Azerbaijan, for Nagorno-Karabakh. As usual, it was guarded by soldiers. The inhabitants of the settlement, however—women, children and old people—came out onto the road to stop the vehicles. With them were militiamen, Party and local authority functionaries. Some of the inhabitants of Lachin even threw themselves under the wheels. The trucks turned back. In Agdam heavy trucks were placed on the railroad tracks seriously hindering fuel deliveries."

Military planes in September carried hundreds of tons of flour, food, spare parts, and even chlorine (an item categorically ruled out for air delivery) to Nagorno-Karabakh. The latter was urgently needed to help disinfect the drinking water. Soldiers are helping to repair schools and harvest crops. People in the military commandant's office are solving social problems, although their chief function is to protect human lives. As I was told by officers of the internal forces, by KGB men and the militia, the local population has a good deal of firearms, including military machine guns. In addition, quite a few have home-made explosives. Armed groups are being formed in settlements near the border. Pilots spot tent camps from high above, and there is every reason to regard them as training centres for "volunteer corps". The loss of human lives among civilians and soldiers continues to grow.

The first thing any visitor to the village of Vank in the Mardakert district of the Autonomous Region will be told is that an Armenian teacher has disappeared. He had gone to the woods and never came back. Meticulous searches were in vain. No trace was found. The unanimous opinion is that the wan was either killed or is being held hostage by the Azerbaijanians. Such stories have become part of the Armenians' everyday life. One of my acquaintances told me very matter-of-factly that it was his turn to guard the settlement that night. Another, who had invited me to be his guest, asked me to wait a minute—he had to run and get a gun for someone who was going to patrol the settlement.

We had come to Vank to watch the military clear the obstructions piled up on the roads, so that flocks—mainly belonging to Azerbaijanians—could be brought down from the winter pastures. The owners of the sheep maintained that the Armenians had deliberately blasted a huge clif so that the flocks would not be able to pass.

Major Aleksandr Vishnyakov, commandant of the Mardakert District, commented:

"I sent for experts, and they established that it was a landslide, a result of natural causes...."

A bulldozer, guards and armoured carriers, arrived at the site. Field engineers, under company commander Vladimir Kovalskiy, began blasting fragments of the rock that had crashed onto the road. The soldiers, having filled their helmets with walnuts, rested on the sun-warmed rocks. Soon people dressed in clothes, unlike those of the local inhabitants, appeared on the road. They were Azerbaijanians from the Agdam District. Leaving their trucks behind a bend, they stood watching everything from afar. A car drove up. In it was the secretary of the Mardakert District Party Committee, the local procurator and a representative of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. Samvel Akopyan, Acting First Secretary of the District Party Committee, demanded that the people from Agdam return home immediately. No one had warned the Party Committee of their arrival, while the inhabitants of Vank had already gathered on the village square, indignant that the Azerbaijanians would take their sheep back without giving them anything in return.

"The people from Agdam promised to give us back our cargoes," the speakers on the square in Vank were saying, "but they did nothing of the kind. So why should we be the ones to take the first step? We have no feed for our cattle and are forced to slaughter it. But we can't even transport the meat out of the village. Let them see what it's like to live without roads."

No warnings, no appeals to reason had any effect. The crowd on the square demanded that the trucks take the people back to Agdam. The commandant warned that he'd be obliged to use force if a single stone was thrown at the transport. The square promised not to throw anything, but did not disperse.

Only the armoured carriers and the military trucks came down from the mountains. The people on the square understood that the field engineers had managed to clear away the obstructions and that the Agdam vehicles had crossed the mountain pass and gone off to their flocks of sheep. The crowd announced that the Secretary of the District Party Committee was to blame. Then people even picked up his car, turned it around so it faced the mountains, and shouted to him to catch up with the Agdam trucks; otherwise, he'd better not show up in the village again.

Thus, one of the deals of the "blockade trade"—bartering gasoline for sheep—did not work out. That episode showed how senseless is the road the two nations have taken.

The next day in Vank was festive: the Church of St. John the Baptist, standing high on a mountain overlooking the village in the ancient Gandzasar Monastery was blessed. The homily was about faith which helps people not lose hope in times of doubt and anxiety. It was about peace and love for one's neighbour. Bishop Artsakha Parkev conducted the liturgy—the first church service in 60 years on the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh. Later, in his home, he told us that he considered one of his chief missions to be educating people about morality. He said there should never be pessimism, that there's always a way out of any situation.

On our return from Vank we found out that there had been a new tragedy. Oleg Zhikhor, 29, had come to Stepanakert to install gas compressors. While working, he was gravely wounded by a bullet. Surgeon Valeriy Marutyan who operated on him said he was in critical condition—his kidneys, spleen, and pancreas were all badly damaged. Five direct blood transfusions were made. The donors were officers and students from militia schools.

A friend of Zhikhor, Aleksandr Kiryushin, who was working with him that night said that they were going home after work, and added: "We came here to help, not to divide the land between the two nations. The second bullet was meant for me, but luckily it missed. I don't know who fired the shots. We were on friendly terms both with Armenians and Azerbaijanians. Things just can't go on this way any longer. The government must do everything possible to restore peace here."

Armenians Hold Ceremony, Remember Musa Mountain

NC1010222289 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1900 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Report by Varujan Voskanyan]

[Text] How many times has this laborious dance of native Musa Mountain people been performed under the gaze of Ararat and in the square containing the monument to the heroic struggle? The Musa Mountain people are dancing at Saealanch, which symbolizes the battleground: all are dancing, old and young, boys and girls.

People are streaming toward the monument from Yerevan, Edzhmiatsin, the Ararat Valley, and other regions of Armenia.

It was on a liberating day in September 1915 that a column of 5,000 Musa Mountain people, who had heroicly fought against the regular Turkish troops for 40 days, were proceeding along the slopes of Musa Mountain toward the French battleship "Vichen," which waited in the Mediterranean. Now times are different. Is it really different? Is not the Armenian Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (NKAO)] a new Musa Mountain, which due to the imperative of restructuring has launched a constitutional struggle to liberate the oblast from the despotism of Azerbaijan and to reunite it with Armenia? The Azerbaijan blockade of Armenia and NKAO—the (?improper), silent and stony wall before that struggle—is evidence of the infamous situation these days.

This is how Minas Minasyan, deputy chairman of the Musa Mountain compatriot union, began his speech with these suggestions to almost one hundred thousand people. They had gathered to observe a moment's silence in honor of the martyrs of the Musa Mountain heroic fight, the victims of the genocide of the Armenians organized by Azerbaijanis in Sumgait City, and the victims of the destructive earthquake in Armenia.

Minas Minasyan said that Musa Mountain people also shared the terrible tragedy that befell western Armenians. The Turks ravaged western Armenia. Despite the conditions of the comprehensive butchery organized by the Young Turks and genocide of the Armenians, Armenians waged an unequal struggle against the superior Turkish forces in such places as Van, Shadagh, (?Husum), Shabinkarahisar, Urfa, and elsewhere. The heroic self-defense of Musa Mountain is one of the most illustrous actions of this heroic struggle.

Khrachik Simonyan, corresponding member of the Armenian Academy of Sciences, spoke about that heroic battle and the difficult past and present of the Armenian people. He said that the Armenian people, who groaned under the Turkish yoke for 600 years, were searching for avenues of liberation by imploring great Europe and great Russia for their assistance. This path seriously damaged our cause. However, Khrimyan Hayrik [an Armenian Catholicos] advocated basing the hope for liberation on one's own strength. Decades of our liberation struggle faced the furious resistence of both Turkey and Russia. World War I brought the most terrible genocide of the Armenians. Our people, who suffered nearly 2 million victims, said no to the realization of the Turkish policy of destroying the Armenians at the heroic battle of Sardarabad in 1918. Why were they able to do that? Because they relied on its own strength and forged the historical victory.

In September 1920, Armenia was attacked by Kemalist imperialists who, playing fraternity and internationalism with the Russian Soviet Republic, occupied most of Armenia's territory. At the time, the fate of the Armenian people was also decided by the infamous Russo-Turkish treaty of 16 March 1921, without taking into account the views of the sovereign republic of Soviet Armenia, said Khrachik Simonyan. On 5 July 1921, the NKAO was wrested away from Armenia and given to Azerbaijan. We leave aside the fact that the Russian Soviet Republic, at the suggestion of Kemalist Turkey, virtually forced the annexation of Nakhichevan to Azerbaijan so that over decades it would be emptied of Armenians and sanctioned on the map today as the phantom of an autonomous republic.

The Musa Mountain people who came to Armenia and saw all this once more recalled the past, and their spirits were perturbed. Yes, the past 70 years brought pain and destruction to the entire Armenian people. In the wake of Nakhichevan, our neighbor Azerbaijan suggestion of Bakirovs and Aliyevs [former Azerbaijanian party leaders of the Armenians]. They are mistaken. No matter how much the authorities rely on higher places, continue to pursue anti-Armenian propaganda, and hide the truth, they will not be able to break the Armenian people's will to survive; a people who prefer to die heroically rather than live on their knees.

Today our people and all their children must be united with the diaspora Armenians. Here lies our salvation. Our people will proceed on the path of Musa Mountain people, concluded Khrachik Simonyan.

Doctor of History Lendrush Khurshutyan, poets Vachakan Ovanesyan and Mr Sarukhanyan, Edzhmiatsin Rayon Party Secretary Norayr Yeghiazaryan, and others condemned Azerbaijan's blockade of Armenia and the NKAO and called for unity among those present and all the children of Armenian people.

Let us listen to greetings of Gevorg Ter-Partogh, the proprietor of the English language CYPRUS WEEKLY newspaper in Cyprus:

[begin recording] It is an Armenian custom to be christianed once. Today, I feel that I have been rechristened. Once, I was christened Gevorg, yet, today I also was christened an honorary Musa Mountainer. I will take this message to all my compatriots in Cyprus, and I hope that they, too, will feel christened Musa Mountainers. [end recording]

Bishop Ananiya Arabajyan greeted those present in the name of Vazken I, the Catholicos of all Armenians. He said that the mother see Edzhmiatsin has always been on the side of the Armnenian people and has always assisted its children. Our neighbor wishes to oppress us by employing inhuman means; it wants to clear Artsakh of Armenians. I want to state that it will not succeed in this; justice will not be exterminated. Let me to convey to you the blessings of his highness the patriarch with these feelings and wish you hope, faith, and love.

At the end of the ceremony, Apraham Aprahamyan, chairman of the Musa Mountain compatriot union,

thanked the speakers, participants, and the Musa Mountain detachment. He read greetings from Musa Mountain people living in Beirut, San Francisco, Aleppo, and France. He said that at present the NKAO is a special sort of Musa Mountain, and all of us must support our brothers with united forces and their constitutional struggle which emerged from the restructuring and has become its guarantee.

Many patriotic and provincial songs were sung from the podium of the monument. One of them is heard next.

Difficulties in Abkhaz-Georgian Dialogue Viewed

PM1110152989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Special correspondent Vl. Arsenyev report: "Difficult Path Toward Dialogue"]

[Text] Sukhumi-Moscow—In connection with the complex sociopolitical situation in the Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR], the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium sent a group of USSR Supreme Soviet members to meet with working people in the autonomous republic.

The group visited various cities in the Abkhaz ASSR and met many people. And their arrival, as well as the official visit of V. Kravtsev, USSR deputy general prosecutor, will evidently enable us to obtain a more detailed picture of what is happening in Abkhaziya. The Abkhaz part of the population has held strikes and rallies here since 5 September. On 14 September 20 inhabitants of Gudautskiy Rayon decided to take an extreme step—to go on a hunger strike. The inhabitants of Gagra and Pitsunda, where hunger strikes have also begun, have been showing solidarity toward them. Miners at three mines in the town of Tkvarcheli went on an underground strike. Their demands were to form a CPSU Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet commission for the thorough study of the situation which has taken shape in Abkhaziya since the tragic July events, to hand over cases for investigation to the USSR Prosecutor's Office, and to repeal the decision to create a branch of the Tbilisi State University on the basis of the Georgian sector of the Abkhaz state university. As I was told at the Abkhazian strike committee, around 45,000 people stopped working.

Any report from the Abkhaz ASSR, as I know from my previous articles, is read both in Sukhumi and Tbilisi with particular interest. An analysis of the situation and its causes and consequences, which have produced such complications in the life of the autonomous republic, requires a separate, thorough discussion. But some things are obvious. Constructive dialogue between Abkhazians and Georgians that could normalize the situation is not being achieved. I also met with representatives of the regional branch of the People's Front, who had their own, completely different and no less persuasive opinion about the situation and the course of events. They are also demanding that the whole truth be told about Abkhaziya, unreservedly, and that the guilty in the July tragedy be punished, as they consider this to be an indispensable condition of stabilization. And just like the Abkhazians, although they want conciliation, they do not want to make concessions.

I found out the latest news when I returned to Moscow and called Sukhumi. The miners had ended their strike and finally emerged from underground. On Monday, Georgian doctors held a protest rally. On that day, 2 October, the academic year was meant to start in the autonomous republic's higher educational establishments, but did not. The reason was that the question about the operation of the branch of the Tbilisi state university was not resolved. The Abkhazian part of the population went to work. The last group of hunger-strikers—in Gagra—has also left.

But when will there be real peace and conciliation? No one could answer this question, so vital to the autonomous republic.

Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Session Ends

LD1210093289 Riga in Latvian to Europe 2105 GMT 8 Oct 89

[From the "Amber Coast" program]

[Text] A session of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet took place on Friday [6 October] in Riga, at which the question of the law on the election of the Supreme Soviet and its structure was once more examined. On the structure of the republic's highest organ of power, three versions were offered. The main report on this question was delivered at Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

One of the versions offered, submitted by Latvia's Society of Jurists, envisages the election of a president of Latvia.

After a debate, the submitted proposals were summed up, on the instructions of the Supreme soviet Presidium, by deputy Gvido Zemirbo, chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Court.

[Begin Zemirbo recording] Concerning the proposal on the president. Having listened to everything that was said here, we regard that this would also be, if you would agree to that, one would have to, let us say, on the whole, express oneself positively about this institution. It would of course have to be perfected, by coordinating with the other institutions of central state power we now have, the Supreme Soviet, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and so on.

Taking all this into account we formulated a draft resolution of the Supreme Soviet, consisting of three points, in the following wording:

1. The republic's supreme organ of state power is the Supreme Soviet, which is elected at general, direct and equal elections.

2. The Latvian SSR people's deputies are elected according to the following norm: 1 deputy from every 10,000 electors, in constituencies which have been formed, taking into account the republic's administratively territorial division, but not less than 3 deputies from each rayon. In determining the constituencies, a deviation of not more than 25 percent of the average number of electors is permitted.

3. A working group and constitution commission will be charged with the task of perfecting the institution of the republic's president, coordinating this with the other central organs of state power of the republic.

Such are our proposals. [end recording]

A majority of the deputies supported the resolution. Its juridicial adoption thereby excludes the restrictions at elections adopted at the previous session of the Supreme Soviet for persons who have resided in Latvia for a short time, and also gives an opportunity to representatives of the Army to participate in the elections in the territory of Latvia on equal principles.

The Supreme Soviet session also examined several demands submitted by deputies, to which officials replied.

The session then concluded its work.

Latvian 'Center for Democratic Initiative' Set Up

PM0510132589 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 28 Sep 89 p 3

[S. Sergeyev report: "What Is the Center for Democratic Initiative?"]

[Excerpt] The founding meeting of a new sociopolitical organization—the Center for Democratic Initiative [CDI]—was held in Riga 23 September.

Originally the CDI was part of the Baltic Slavic Society for Cultural Development and Cooperation, and only recently did it take definitive shape as an independent organization of a democratic trend. The CDI was long considered a kind of alternative "brain trust" which advanced ideas which in a short time attracted attention in the republic and the country. A considerable ballyhoo was raised, for example, by the proposal by one CDI representative to organize autonomous national oblasts on Latvia's territory, which was published in the International Front weekly YEDINSTVO. The Latvian People's Front bulletin ATMODA sharply criticized the proposal, but nevertheless the idea unexpectedly began to be realized in neighboring Lithuania.

The CDI founding meeting was attended by representatives of a number of public organizations in the republic and of the central and republican press. Amendments and additions to the CDI Statutes were examined, and the main areas of work in the immediate future were defined.

What will the activity of the Center for Initiative be like now, after its formation as an independent organization? The CDI's first act is an appeal in support of the Riga Humanitarian Institute, whose text is published below. [passage ommitted]

Support Voiced for Riga Humanitarian Institute

PM0510132589 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 28 Sep 89 p 3

["Appeal of the Center for Democratic Initiative to the Public of the Republic"—SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA heading]

[Text] The idea of creating the Riga Humanitarian Institute advanced by the Baltic Slavic Society for Cultural Development and Cooperation has recently begun to be subjected to massive attacks by some public organizations.

The Center for Democratic Initiative declares its resolute support for the plan to create a center of culture, education, and science for Latvia's national minorities.

We believe that the Riga Humanitarian Institute which is to be created will not only enrich the spiritual life of the republic but also destroy the pernicious monopolization of education which has taken shape in recent decades.

We urge everyone who is not indifferent to the realization of the constitutional right to education to support our appeal and express his opinion to this address: The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium, 226011, Latvian SSR, Riga City, 11 Komyaunatnes Street.

Lithuanian Party Plenum Begins 12 Oct

LD1210104189 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Today is the 1st working day of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. I say the 1st day because this time there is a possibility that the plenum will last for more than 1 day. The issue on the agenda is of great importance. Therefore, the debates could be protracted.

At the moment, a short report about the plenum would include the following:

At 1000 today, the 21st plenum of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee began. The question on the agenda is about the results of the discussion on the restructuring of the activity of Lithuanian communists and the convening of the 22d congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party.

The plenum was opened with an introductory speech by Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

Lithuanian Deputy Comments on 1990 Draft Plan

904A0009A Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 30 Sep 89 p 1

[Report on interview with E. Vilkas, people's deputy, chairman of the Commission for Issues of Social and Economic Development of Union and Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Oblasts, and Okrugs of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and director of the Institute of Economics of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, by SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA correspondent M. Rostarchuk; date and place not given: "Making Money Rather Than Distributing"]

[Text] The Commission for Issues of Social and Economic Development of Union and Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Oblasts, and Okrugs is the main organ of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet which is now discussing the draft State Plan and State Budget for 1990. We are speaking with E. Vilkas, people's deputy, director of the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences of Lithuania, and chairman of this commission.

[Vilkas] First, let me note the peculiarity of debate which is perhaps characteristic of all committees and commissions except ours. Deputies ask to increase funding for particular purposes. However, adding funds here means cutting back elsewhere! In our commission, we hear the reports of chairmen of republic state planning commissions and ministries of finance, and such demands are rare since the people are knowledgeable. On the whole, however, we have not made much progress. After all, funds for particular purposes have to be generated first, and this is only possible through economic accountability. Meanwhile, next year as well, very few regions will be able to switch to it.

[Rostarchuk] That is, the debate continues to be largely perfunctory?

[Vilkas] This is partly true. Deputies make reports on their activities too often, and talk too little about how economic reform is to be developed further.

[Rostarchuk] In the course of the discussion, the deputies complain that it is now becoming increasingly difficult to participate in an exchange on the principle "scratch my back and I'll scratch yours."

[Vilkas] This is primeval barter whereas we need to evolve toward the market.

[Rostarchuk] Do the new budget and the plan facilitate such a transition?

[Vilkas] To an extremely small degree. The fact that we are proceeding toward the market too slowly is the main shortcoming of these documents. To my mind, the economists of the Baltic area have proposed the right way: Every year reduce gradually—say, by 10 percent—mandatory deliveries from the union and to the union from republics and channel the resources released to the market.

[Rostarchuk] What innovations do the deputies note in the plan and the budget?

[Vilkas] The republics have been given more rights. The social orientation of these documents also makes them happy.

[Rostarchuk] What do they criticize?

[Vilkas] The USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] made on its own very large changes in the plan for the state order after it had been coordinated with the republics. This will not do.

[Rostarchuk] How will the debate end in your commission?

[Vilkas] Together with a group of experts from the republics, we will prepare a report by our commission which will be made at the meeting of the Soviet of Nationalities.

Defense Plant Conversion Begins in Belorussia

LD1010143189 Moscow TASS in English 1415 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Minsk October 10 TASS—The conversion of defence industry plants to the production of consumer goods has begun in Soviet Belorussia.

"The production of farming implements for individual small holdings and computing equipment for schools has been established at the plants, and the production of medical and farm produce processing equipment is being set up," Viktor Samtsevich, a departmental chief at the Republican State Planning Committee, told TASS.

"Defence industry plants are increasing the manufacture of sophisticated household equipment and will begin to made dosimetric and radiometric control instruments for individual use, intended primarily for the population within the zone of the Chernobyl nuclear power station."

The year 1990, when the production of goods at defence plants will double compared to that in 1989, will become a turning point in terms of conversion.

For example, the manufacture of television sets at a Vitebsk plant alone will grow five-fold, and the amount of small washing machines made at the Minsk plant Termoplast will also quintuple.

Auctions are now being held in the republic's capital to sell trucks, truck tractors, bulldozers, tanker trucks and other military equipment released as a result of army cuts.

The proceeds will be used for the construction of housing for the families of commissioned and warrant officers transferred to the reserve due to cuts in the armed forces, and for the payment of pension allowances.

Ukrainian Movement's Activities Condemned

LD0710210789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 7 Oct 89

[From the "Soyuz" Program; interview with Vladimir Sokolov, correspondent in the Ukraine, by studio presenter Vartanyan]

[Text] Well, lets stop and think: do all informal associations existing today serve the interests of perestroyka? In particular, in the Ukraine of late such an informal organization as Rukh, the people's movement for perestroyka, has made its voice heard. Well, in our editorial mail there have been quite a lot of letters asking us to tell our listeners more details about this organization. I have asked our correspondent for the Ukraine, Vladimir Sokolov, to help me in this. On the eve of this program I contacted Kiev via Efir-1.

[Sokolov] One of republic's largest informal organizations is briefly called Rukh, a Ukrainian word meaning movement. A group of literary men, scientific workers, and prominent artists acted as its founders.

Initially the draft program of this people's movement attracted to it quite a few people who are truly worried about the fate of perestroyka. But for many people this program rang alarm bells, arrogating to Rukh, as it does, the right to control all and sundry, to issue ultimatums, setting it above all organs of government.

According to the manifestly exaggerated calculations of its leaders, Rukh now numbers some 280,000 members.

[Vartanyan] But this is few, compared with the population of the Ukraine?

[Sokolov] After all, the Ukrainian people number 52 million. And where this program was carefully examined much of it was rejected: by the republic's Academy of Sciences, by the Ukrainian council of Trade Unions, and by many other organizations and labor collectives, the more so as from its first steps Rukh displayed a striking lack of principle, not dissociating itself from other informal organizations of an openly anti-Soviet and nationalistic persuasion which straight away attached itself to it.

[Vartanyan] Which exactly?

[Sokolov] They are, say, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union [Ukrainskiy Khelsinskiy Soyuz, UKHS], the direct successors of the Benderovites of sorry memory. It demands the Ukraine for the Ukrainians, the expulsion from the Ukraine, as they say, of Russian Bolshevik invaders. It proclaims the Benderovites as the first fighters against Stalinism and even insists on immortalizing them with memorials, going to meetings with black-red Benderovite flags.

[Vartanyan] Their program is indeed an extremist one!

[Sokolov] yes. Very similar to the UKHS is also the Ukrainian People's Democratic League [Ukrainskaya Narodno-Demodkraticheskaya Liga]. This league operates with terrorist methods, provocative meetings, and even hunger strikes. In its actions the UDS [Ukrainska Demokratichna Spil—Ukrainian Democratic Union] is little different from it.

By the way, openly anti-Soviet slogans were proclaimed at the recent Rukh constituent congress, Communists and all former and present leaders who have sold, as they state, our land, water, all of us together and the future of our children, were blackened.

[Vartanyan] This program is putting very much on their guard the members of this organization who believe that the Ukraine is cut off from the center and that grain, coal, and metal are being taken out of the republic to the detriment of the inhabitants. [sentence as heard] It is quite impossible to agree with this. I can cite a few figures which characterize interrepublican ties on the basis of the interindustrial balance. By the way, these figures were quoted at the recent CPSU Central Central Committee plenum. The share of industrial output being brought in in 1987, in its overall republican consumption amounted to 26 percent in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. That is not all that little.

[Sokolov] I'll say more than that. Speaking at this congress were representatives of [name indistinct]—there is such an organization of Ukrainian nationalists of fascist persuasion abroad who fought fiercely against us during the years of the past war in the Galicina SS division and are now continuing to fight, using sabotage methods—who were invited by the leaders of Rukh.

[Vartanyan] Rukh is picking very dangerous allies. In connection with this comes the question: What was the congress able to decided in that case?

[Sokolov] Well, sober voices were also heard at it. And the decisions and the program which it adopted were quite acceptable. Evidently, everyone can subscribe to them. Reflected in these decisions are also real problems which have accumulated in political, economic, ecological, national-cultural, and other spheres. But the congress has not at all determined Rukh's practical program in resolving all these problems, confining itself essentially to declarations and accusations with an abundance of emotion and a shortage of realism.

[Vartanyan] Vladimir Yuryevich?

[Sokolov] Yes?

[Vartanyan] Do the party authorities and the local soviets have any contacts with this organization?

[Sokolov] They have. The party and local soviet bodies and the broad public see in it a movement which should not be rejected out of hand. On the whole Rukh today, if one looks at it closely, is as follows—and it was Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, who being in Kiev recently, advised us to look closely at it, as one should look closely at any public movement inasmuch as it contains healthy, useful forces and politically immature forces which whom one must conduct a dialogue. That is why calm reasoning is opposing confrontation and provocative attempts to incite clashes, and truthful information is opposing false concoctions and attacks.

Of late public meetings have been taking place already under the slogans of the consolidation of all forces for perestroyka against national demarcation and in support of the party's policies.

[Vartanyan] That is to say, in support of the Ukraine's real sovereignty, primarily exclusively in a friendly family of people of all nations and ethnic groups.

[Sokolov] Quite right, within the existing and ever-strengthening federation. Briefly, everything possible is being done to help Rukh become a real popular movement.

Housing To Displace Industry in Zaporozhye

PM0610095989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 1

["Fact and Commentary" interview with V.V. Demyanov, chairman of Zaporozhye Oblast Soviet Executive Committee, by own correspondent S. Troyan: "Zaporozhye: Fewer Plants, More Housing"]

[Text] All industrial construction projects in Zaporozhye have been frozen. The decision was taken by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers. Our correspondent S. Troyan asked Zaporozhye Oblast Soviet Executive Committee Chairman V.V. Demyanov to comment on this resolution.

[Troyan] Vladimir Vasilyevich, can you please tell us how the resolution, for which the people of Zaporozhye have been waiting for many years, came about?

[Demyanov] The people of Zaporozhye, particularly those who have to live near giant metallurgical plants, have repeatedly demanded environmental improvements.

It is only in recent months that people's vital needs have been addressed. In mid-July a group of USSR people's deputies—A. Grib, S. Gurenko, V. Kalish, G. Pometun, and G. Kharchenko from Zaporozhye Oblast—sent a request to the USSR Council of Ministers chairman. In it the deputies once again stressed that because of the high concentration of enterprises, primarily metallurgical, a dangerous situation had been created, which was having an extremely adverse effect on people's, particularly children's health.

A government commission, comprising representatives of the USSR and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic State Committees for the Protection of the Environment, the Ukrainian State Committee for Hydrometeorology and local authority organs was sent to Zaporozhye. The conclusions in the commission's report coincided with the the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution.

[Troyan] What industrial facilities will not be constructed and what will be frozen? What will the construction workers be doing instead?

[Demyanov] I will begin by answering the second question. In the first place, around 75,000 families are on the housing list in the oblast center alone. Second, the incidence of disease among children and adults is much higher than the republican average—medical establishments and dispensaries have 50-100 percent more work than average. The city needs new schools, kindergartens, stores, public catering enterprises, and cultural facilities. In short, there is no end of facilities that have to be constructed for people. So the construction workers are obviously not going to be short of work...

As for industrial facilities, an activated welding wire section producing 10,000 tonnes per year and a lubricant production facility at the "Kremniypolimer" plant have been canceled, and a testing station and production premises for the "Progress" machine building design bureau will not be built. The construction of many other industrial facilities has been frozen.

So there will be a real opportunity to reallocate a little over R400 million in capital investments and construct ecological and social facilities instead of industrial facilities.

Ukrainian Deputies Assailed for Draft Law Stand

18120123 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 37, 17-24 Sep 89 p 8

[Text] Meetings "For a Democratic Law on Elections" were held in many cities of the Ukraine on 2 September. Hundreds of thousands of voters participated.

What sparked this political action?

The draft Laws on Elections of People's Deputies of the Ukrainian SSR and to the Local Soviets, recently published in the Ukrainian press, take provoked heated discussions and much discontent. People object to provisions in the draft stipulating that the district electoral committee may cancel the decision on the registration of the candidate if it thinks that his programme runs counter to the Constitutions of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR, to other Union and Republican laws. The draft further stipulates nominees must either work or live in the district they seek to represent, or their activity must spread to the Republic, the region, city or district. It is hard to say what the "activity must spread" means, but it can be assumed that the overwhelming

majority of citizens will be able to run for election only in the district where they live or work since their "activity" clearly doesn't "spread".

The draft Laws also envisage elections from public organizations, and elections with only one candidate. In this connection 38 USSR people's deputies have written an open letter of protest to the deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine whose responsibility it is to adopt the new Law on Elections. On August 12, the session of the Republican club of deputies in Kiev adopted a resolution calling the draft Law on Elections "anti-democratic" and arguing that "it allows the Party and state apparatus to decisively influence the Soviets."

USSR people's deputies from the Ukraine have set up a commission to draw up alternative drafts and publish them in the press. It has been proposed that the Republican authorities and public organizations hold a referendum on the election law. At this club session the decision was taken to "appeal to all citizens of the Ukraine to participate in the Republican meeting," and, if the Law is adopted in such a form by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine, "to call a boycott of elections and other forms of civic protest, to strikes."

The appeal mentioned above contained, in our opinion, quite a number of constructive proposals, but only the last paragraph drew the attention of certain people. Via the Republican telegraphic agency (RATAU), most of the Ukraine's press ran a reply letter of condemnation by nine other USSR people's deputies and several dozen deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine. Everything seems to indicate that the authors of the letter were prompted not by the draft Laws but by the fact that our group of USSR people's deputies dared to appeal for their nationwide discussion.

It is noteworthy that on September 2—the day of the Republican meetings—two leading Republican papers published an article reproaching USSR people's deputies Oles Gonchar, Vladimir Yavorivsky and Yuri Shcherbak among others (who publicly criticize the draft Laws on Elections in **Ogonyok**) for "living on the substantial deputy's salary—people's money, shunning hard work, and forcing their democracy on us—their noisy democratic meetings".

Despite this the discussion took place. A resolute "No" was the response to the anti-democratic drafts. Meetings which resolutely criticized the draft Laws on Elections were held in Kiev, Zaporozhye, Lvov, Dneprodzerzhinsk, Zhitomir and Ternopol. Among the slogans was such: "'No' to elections without a choice!". Was it noticed at the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine?

Valery Grishchuk, Vladimir Chernyak, Vladimir Yavorivsky, Sergei Konev, Vitaly Chelyshev, Alla Yaroshinskaya—people's deputies of the USSR from the Ukraine.

Moldavian Nationalist Extremists Critcized

PM1010112989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent E. Kondratov article: "Step Into the Other Person's Shoes, and You'll Realize How Vulnerable National Feelings Are"]

[Text] Kishinev—Gusting around the corner, the wind angrily tore at an in-house newspaper pasted directly on a wall. My attention was drawn by the headline "Striking Tiraspol." I scanned the rustling sheet of paper: Telegrams in support of the strike, resolution by the strike committee... And suddenly a surprise: An appeal to the USSR Supreme Soviet to delete the space for "Nationality" from passports and to introduce an identical entry for everyone—"USSR citizen." Apparently suggesting that I should completely forget the fact that I am Russian....

National passions in Moldavia are scorching nowadays. It is, therefore, uncomfortable being a representative of a great people and suddenly sensing that you belong to an ethnic minority. Consequently, fear of what might happen is now forcing the Russians—as well as Ukrainians and Jews—to take refuge in "Soviet" nationality.

Just try and remain calm and conciliatory to the sound of terrifying shouts by tens of thousands of Moldavians from the People's Front in Kishinev's squares every Sunday. To top it all, they wave not the Soviet flag but tricolor banners and posters. Just try and get a peaceful night's sleep while rallies and the Moldavian newspapers keep telling you that you are a migrant, an uninvited newcomer, a rootless zombie. While famous poets insult you in rhyme and prose for being a Russian, and cartoonists venomously ridicule you once a week, every week. What is going to happen? This is the question asked with sadness and alarm by Russians, Ukrainians, Jews, and Bulgarians who have lived in Moldavia for years. And why is it that the authorities are not bringing to book the nationalist firebrands who are stirring up the kindhearted Moldavian people?

This is, of course, the most convenient and simplest way of explaining things: A handful of extremists are to blame for everything. And very few bother to ask: But why is it that these nationalists are so popular among the people? The answer is obvious, once it is recognized that today's extraordinary events are a reaction to many years of infringement of the Moldavian people's dignity. By whom? Not just by the Union-Republican bureaucracy but also—would you believe it—by those nice Russian people who, without a second thought, scorned the traditions, culture, and language of the Moldavians.

I was officially posted to Moldavia 3 years ago. I witnessed the outburst of national resistance to the local bureaucracy, which was first offered by the emboldened intelligentsia. I must admit that I felt in no way insulted by either the harshness or the bitterness with which writers spoke about the fruits of the Russification of the

republic's spiritual life, about the Moldavian language being squeezed out of public life and into the kitchens, about senior school pupils being ashamed to speak it in public. And also about the irritating indifference shown by newcomers toward the language and culture of the people who welcomed them in this sunny and prosperous land.

I was not in any way insulted by this, in the same way that I was not amazed by the fact that I myself, unable to speak a word of Moldavian, felt as comfortable in Moldavia as I might have done on the banks of the Volga or the Neva. I heard Russian spoken at plants, in offices, in institutions, and in schools, while the signs I read on walls were written in the same great and mighty language. I could understand everything that was said at plenums, sessions, and every kind of meeting.

It was something else that amazed me: Why was it that my new acquaintances, Russians and Ukrainians who had lived here for decades, have simply not managed to learn Moldavian? No, I did not hear them make any hostile statements or tell insulting jokes about Moldavians. But their lack of interest was striking—interest in the content of attractively presented books by Moldavian classic writers and contemporary authors, in the subject of dolefully-mysterious folk songs, in the topic of arguments between current affairs writers in LITERATURA SHI ARTA. "Why bother learning it?" This is what my brother-Slavs absentmindedly said about the Moldavian language. And trying to conceal a polite smile, they cast an eye over the weirdo who was wasting his time learning the "Moldavian lingo."

Moldavia was not the first republic to which I had been posted. I knew from personal experience of life in Turkmenia that the language enables to you to more swiftly gain a deeper insight into the innermost folds of a nation's soul.

Time passed, and I realized soon enough that it was useless to accuse the Russians living in Moldavia of indifference. For years on end, reality itself confirmed their view that knowledge of the Moldavian language was absolutely unnecessary. The 40 postwar years were a period when any signs of Moldavia's dissimilitude were at times painfully erased. The bogey of nationalism was used to intimidate anyone who mentioned anything that was traditionally Moldavian. Functionaries considered that any sympathetic treatment of such persons was almost a mortal sin.

Is this the way to make the nonindigenous population respect everything Moldavian? It was only members of the Russian intelligentsia before the revolution who, finding themselves in the far-flung national regions, studied the language of the local people and helped to advance their culture. Nowadays, Russians in national republics can be heard saying something along the lines of "We liberated you, educated you, dragged you out of the dirt, built you plants..." At other times, it even percolates into newspapers: "You owe us a debt... Do not forget..."

Indeed, people must remember. The Russian physicians who saved Moldavian children during the postwar famine. The engineers and professors from Russia who put Moldavian industry and science back on their feet. And especially the soldiers—today's veterans—who shed their blood here in the battle against fascism. It would be a sign of the blackest ingratitude to forget the services rendered to Moldavia by those Russians. But the point is, are their children and grandchildren entitled to claim an equal measure of respect? What special services have they rendered? Why should privileges be demanded even by those who settled down here only yesterday, as it were? Could it be for the simple reason that we are somehow accustomed to playing the role of "big brother?"

The "privilege" that is especially at issue is the right not to speak the language of the people for whom a republic is named. This is by no means the least cause of interethnic conflicts. This year's debate on whether the Moldavian language needs the status of state language and whether it would be legitimate to adopt the Latin script was accompanied by outbursts of public passion. The "Yedinstvo" International Movement was born as a sign of resistance to the forthcoming linguistic reform. The recent mass strikes which shook the republic and inflicted irreparable damage running into millions on the country's economy demonstrated how easy it is for mutual lack of understanding to evolve into open interethnic confrontation. And this path does not lead to the temple. It leads to the abyss.

Events in Moldavia associated with the adoption of the law on the language are fresh in people's memory. The endless protest rallies by residents of Tiraspol, Bendery, and Rybnitsa will not be forgotten for a long time, nor will the actual polemics at the republic's Supreme Soviet session, which at times were not just unbefitting for a parliament but even degrading for the parties involved. But the strikes have, of course, left the most painful scar. They began with demands by workers' collectives to postpone the holding of the session and to have a nationwide discussion of the draft laws which, in their opinion, infringed the interests of the republic's non-Moldavian population.

But the session did take place. It adopted compromise amendments to the laws, the most important and most fundamental among them being the recognition of the Russian language, in parallel with the Moldavian state language, as the medium of interethnic contacts in the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic. But the strikes continued. On behalf of tens of thousands of workers from more than 200 enterprises, the republican strike committee refused to obey the session's decision. An entire package of political demands was submitted.

But in what way did the adopted laws on the language infringe the interests of the non-Moldavian population? I talked in both Kishinev and Tiraspol with people who rejected the laws out of hand, but I did not hear a single sensible explanation as to the actual object of their protest. After all, these laws give the Russian language the right to be used in both written and verbal contacts in all offices, as well as in education... The law does not in any way force residents of Tiraspol, Bendery, Rybnitsa, and a number of rayons with predominantly non-Moldavian population to start speaking Moldavian, let alone the Gagauz people whose linguistic rights enjoy special protection—it actually offers them full opportunity to use the Russian or their native language for all purposes.

The law imposes the demand for fluency in two languages—Moldavian and Russian—only on officials and specialists who, by the nature of their work, have extensive contacts with the population. In my view, this is both natural and humanitarian. How can anyone call himself a physician if he is unable to understand a sick Moldavian woman? How can a journalist do his job properly if he always needs a translator? Or a salesman who has no idea what the purchaser wants? The law gives Russians 6 years—and even 7 in a number of cities and rayons—to learn the Moldavian language, and only to the extent necessary to enable them to perform their official duties. Discrimination? Come on now! Learn just one single word every day—and you'll have learned it in a year or two.

"Let's have two state languages!" That was the demand by strikers unwilling to comprehend that the language of the people after whom the republic is named is not just one of the languages spoken here. By acquiring the status of state language, it emphasized the juridical fact, at times deliberately overlooked in our country, that the USSR is a voluntary union of national **states**. Living in their own motherland, Moldavians want to feel that they are in their native language's element and—in contrast with Russians or Ukrainians—there is nowhere else in the world they can feel this. They are fed up with wondering whether everyone would understand when addressed in Moldavian. They wish to be certain that everyone in Moldavia will understand. In the same way as they understand everyone addressing them in Russian.

But the "big brother" mentality is tenacious of life. Demands to block the adoption of the Latin script are made today by those who ought to be indifferent to the script in which they are unable to read Moldavian. Don't you dare wave that tricolor with a depiction of a bison on it—this is the ban they impose on Moldavians who consider this symbolism to be genuinely rooted in history. "There must be no talk of any identity between the Romanian and Moldavian language and culture"—this is what they dictate, somehow perceiving themselves as supreme arbiters on this issue as well.

I cannot imagine, for example, Armenians living in Georgia starting to determine what is and what is not genuinely national for Georgians. Therefore, it is not up to Tiraspol's workers to demand the recall of people's deputies for whom peasants in the Moldavian countryside have voted. Nor is it up to the Moldavian People's Front to judge whether the Gagauz people need autonomy. Such interference can only set peoples against one another.

How can one explain the fact that Russians, Ukrainians, Jews, Gagauz, and Bulgarians living in Moldavia and calling themselves internationalists, are unwilling to understand the national aspirations of Moldavians who are dreaming of their language being reborn? And they even went as far as striking just to have the adopted laws abolished.

"But we have absolutely nothing against the Moldavian language!", I was told by V. Rylyakov, cochairman of the republican strike committee. "It certainly needs the status of state language. But why is it that the laws totally ignore the linguistic situation which has long prevailed in our city and in other Moldavian cities? Why is it that nationalist feelings are building up in the republic? Where are we likely to end up?"

Yes, the issue revolves not only and not so much around the laws on the language, but rather around the unconcealed alarm that, in the hands of covert and overt nationalists, they will become an instrument for discrimination against all non-Moldavians. These fears are well grounded. It is with growing frequency that speeches by leaders of informal associations, articles, and "visual agitation" rallies proclaim that the blame for the social ills and difficulties being experienced by Moldavia lies not with the administrative edict system or the offshoots of Stalinshchina and stagnation, but with the Russians, the newcomers, the "migrants." Eloquence in the squares almost immediately turns into chauvinism in daily life—interethnic relations are becoming increasingly strained at enterprises, in schools, and in hospitals. People are breaking family friendships, and arguments along ethnic lines are no longer isolated events even between spouses.

Here is something that is altogether reprehensible: The creative and scientific intelligentsia, even though aware of this, is not even trying to straighten this dangerous kink. On the contrary, historians are diligently digging into the distant past for evidence of past dissensions, while poets and current affairs writers are perceptibly irritating their fellow-countrymen's national awareness, opening old wounds, and pointing the finger at the "offenders."

Not just the Russians living in Moldavia but also "every language spoken therein" are today rather wary of the Moldavians' intoxication with their unity. And when they hear "Noy Syntem Acase" [as transliterated] ("We Are in Our Own Home") being sung by thousands in the squares, they ask themselves: But where am I? Just

visiting? In a foreign country? What will happen if tomorrow, rather than in 6 years' time, some bureaucrat demands that I speak the Moldavian language? And what if workers are henceforth appraised not by their brains and abilities but only by their passports?

This, I think, is why the strikers persisted. Force others to respect them! But the flexing of steel-like muscles is hardly the way to achieve peace, let alone to strengthen friendship. Others respect you for your kind and sincere interest in the life of the neighboring peoples. For your ability to be magnanimous, for your readiness to share the other person's pain.

It is impossible to live while suspecting, accusing, and hating each other. Even the most outright extremists are hardly likely to believe that almost 40 percent of Moldavia's population can leave Moldavia so as "not to degrade [ukhudshat] its ethnos." The Moldavians themselves will prevent this at all costs! After all, every mother wishes her child to be treated by a physician whose surname is totally immaterial, as long as he knows his job. After all, all that any normal person is worried about is that the aircraft in which he is flying is piloted by someone who knows his job, regardless of nationality. And that the collective farm or plant is managed by a wise master.

"We have to live here!"—this ought to be the slogan for a "roundtable" discussion between all who are capable of influencing the mood of the masses. Moldavians today need peace, with everyone being the victor, because those who gain the upper hand in an interethnic argument nowadays will inevitably end up being the losers. After all, the vanquished will live next door to you, his children next door to your children, and his grandchildren next door to your grandchildren. Surely it would be worth while giving some thought to their safety and tranquillity? Is the situation likely to be better if your neighbor is malicious and sullen? A good master always makes sure that everyone feels warm and comfortable in his home. But he dislikes being told by outsiders how to live.

I live in the hope that the evil kinks, which mar Moldavia's bright image, will not be aggravated but will be smoothed out. And I dream of hearing of the first Russian woman to consciously leave her child in a Moldavian kindergarten.

Moldavian Leaders Shouted Down at Pro-Strike Rally

PM2509103789 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 6 Sep 89 p 4

["Our correspondent" report: "To Get Anywhere You Have To Take the First Step"]

[Text] Bendery—A big rally in support of the demands of the striking enterprise collectives was held in Liberation Square in Bendery on Monday [4 September]. It was attended and addressed by I.P. Kalin, chairman of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers; V.K. Pshenichnikov, second secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee; and D.I. Nidelku, secretary of the Moldavian Trade Union Council.

There was prolonged applause when P. Tsymay, first secretary of the Bendery party city committee, approached the microphone. In his speech he described the main results of the recent session, noting both the good and bad points of the adopted language laws. He made a survey of the sociopolitical situation in the city, which at the time of the rally remained fairly complex, above all as a result of the fact that the strike action continued to spread, jeopardizing not just the economy of the city but also that of the republic. In this context P. Tsymay, while not denying that the demands put forward by the strikers are justified, called on them to find a way to end the strike through constructive dialogue.

However, the majority of the rally participants refused to support this proposal. Like, incidentally, the appeals issued by the republic party and government leaders. Worse still, the latter were even sometimes prevented from speaking and shouted down, so to speak. From time to time people chanted: "Strike!"

Frankly speaking, an atmophere charged with a surfeit of emotion is unacceptable anywhere, especially at a serious political event. Unfortunately, restraint was lacking at this rally and the expression of any divergent opinion received a hostile reception. Even members of the city workers committee expressed their dislike of this.

The fact that passions were running high is understandable, of course. The citywide strike was in its 12th day and it was not at all clear whether anything was being done to meet the demands that had been put forward. However, gradually the rally turned to constructive dialogue. The strikers' package of demands, which had been further clarified, was read out once again and then an analysis followed of the sociopolitical situation in the republic and of the causes of a number of negative phenomena in interethnic relations.

"Everyone knows why we started the strike," I. Zholud, member of the city workers committee, said in his speech. "It is also common knowledge that we are not happy about striking. According to some data, the damage caused by the strike per day in Bendery alone totals R3 million. However, we had this extreme measure forced upon us. Because our future is in question."

According to V. Nezhelskiy, a worker at the "Dnestr" plant, the road to compromise is via clarification of the spheres of application of the Russian language in the republic in Article 70(1) of the Moldavian SSR Constitution. It is also necessary to equally clearly and without reservations define its role as the language of interethnic communication.

In parallel with the criticism of a number of articles of the language laws and of the people who are to blame for

the exacerbation of interethnic problems in the republic, the rally participants kept stressing their friendly attitude to the Moldavian people and welcoming the institution of their language as the state language. A recurring theme was the impermissibility of dividing the population along nationality lines and the need, on the contrary, to consolidate all healthy forces.

A resolution and an appeal to the Moldavian people were adopted at the rally. People were exhorted not to succumb to the influence of those who allege that the Russian-speaking population is opposed to Moldavian rebirth. Attention was drawn to the shared traditions, interests, and aspirations. The appeal stresses that all the peoples living in the republic want it to be a thriving region with a harmonious society where human rights are strictly observed.

The rally ended with the singing of the Internationale.

Chernobyl Information Group Begins Work

LD1110185289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] An inter-departmental information group on the problems of Chernobyl has begun work in Gomel Oblast. Its aim is to provide the population with complete information about the measures which are being undertaken to eliminate the consequences of the accident at the nuclear electric power station. Thus, it will be possible to obtain data on the background radiation level by dialing the appropriate telephone number. Inhabitants will be able to read these and other reports on special stands. It is also planned to regularly report on the degree of pollution of agricultural production, the progress of work in deactivating inhabited points, the results of health care, and the level of illness.

Kaluga Oblast Radioactive Areas Treated

LD1010153889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] A press conference has been held devoted to the radiological situation in Kaluga Oblast. It was noted that radioactive fall-out following the Chernobyl disaster fell on the territory of seven southern rayons of the oblast. An operational group was formed to eliminate the consequences. The entire population of the affected rayons underwent medical tests and the soil was treated.

At present, the level of radiation in the majority of places has dropped to 20 microroentgens per hour, which corresponds to the natural background. There is concern only about small areas of territory outside settled areas. Specialists are at present searching for the precise location of polluted areas. An information center has been set up under the permanent oblast emergency commission, which will efficiently and competently inform the population about all so-called acute situations in Kaluga Oblast.

Podolsk Factory Harbors Radiation Hazard

LD2009224289

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1700 GMT on 20 September in the "Vremya" newscast carries a 3-minute report on a radiation hazard.

The item opens with reporter Aleksandr Barkhatov pointing to a notice that says: "No entrance following contamination of the area by radioactive substances". Barkhatov says: "From Moscow to this notice is just a few dozen kilometers." He explains that the notice is located in the grounds of the Podolsk nonferrous metal works.

Works Director Ye.V. Andreyev is interviewed. He says that the plant uses scrap metal from more than 1,500 suppliers and that one of them appears to have delivered contaminated metal. Attempts are being made to find the culprit, he says, but so far without success. He goes on to state that the Podolsk works has no equipment for measuring radioactivity. He continues: "More than half our aluminum smelting furnaces have been contaminated. Apart from that, the enterprises all around us and sections of the railway, just like our closed shops, have stopped work." He says that the railwaymen have refused to load any of the factory's output and that "the losses are approaching R10 million."

After shots of heaps of scrap metal, almost deserted factory installations, stockpiled production, and the radiation hazard warning sign, G.A. Sochneva, head of the factory's health center, admits: "In my view, about 260 people require special tests and tests by a radiologist." But there is no radiologist.

Now that the sources of irrradiation at the works has been detected, there is no longer any real danger, Barkhatov observed. But there is still no radiologist in the medical commission investigating the incident. Meanwhile, procuracy bodies are investigating the source of the contamination. The most worrying thing, though, is that other factories like the Podolsk works also use scrap metal, and they, too, have no radiation measuring equipment in normal use.

The video concludes with shots of workers being checked by geiger counters.

Trade Union Body Issues 'Emergency Appeal'

LD1110200389 Moscow TASS in English 1931 GMT 11 Oct 89

["Soviet Trade Unions Issue Emergency Appeal"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow October 11 TASS—The Presidium of the All-Union Central Committee of Trade Unions (AUCCTU) has addressed an open letter to Soviet workers expressing concern over the situation in trade and transportation.

The situation on the domestic consumer market is becoming critical, the letter notes. Ever new goods are becoming scarce. The procurement of potatoes, vegetables and fruit for the winter is worse than in any previous years, and trade in them leaves much to be desired.

Measures taken by the government to step up the production of vital goods inside the country and to purchase them in other countries are blocked by large-scale disruptions in the distribution network while storage facilities are overloaded.

Many thousands of tonnes of foodstuffs and manufactured goods, worth hundreds of billions of roubles, are awaiting unloading at ports and railway stations.

From 15,000 to 17,000 freight railway carriages are left unloaded every day, nearly 16,000 of them await unloading for days on end.

In the ports of Ilyichevsk, Leningrad, Odessa, Nikolayev, Riga, Tallinn and Ismail, 69,000 tonnes of sugar, 9,300 tonnes of tea, 2,400 tonnes of coffee, nearly 14,000 tonnes of vegetable oils and 1,300 tonnes of detergents are awaiting further transportation. One hundred and seventy freight wagons of tobacco products are standing idle at the Prut station.

Damage done by wasteful management and inefficiency of officials whose duty it is to mobilize people working in transportation and distribution of commodities is further aggravated by climatic changes, spoilage of goods stored in the open, immobilization of rolling stock and ships awaiting unloading for many days.

The AUCCTU Presidium has called upon the central committees and councils and trade union organisations to take, in conjunction with economic executives, the following urgent measures:

—to organise in the collectives working in trade, ports, railway stations and transfer platforms, until the flow of goods is normalised, continuous work, including on Saturdays and Sundays with remuneration in line with legislation,

—to appeal to work collectives of other enterprises and organisations to help in unloading and transferring goods from storage bases to ensure winter stores of fruit and vegetables and sales of foodstuffs, potatoes, fruit and vegetables at respective enterprises.

—to enlise the cooperation of students, pensioners and all other volunteers to help the population in their cities or districts. Payment for this work should be made by the hour or by the lot.

—for trade union bodies to identify, jointly with local councils, the procedure for organizing such work and supplying required equipment and transport.

—to institute public control and supervision over the distribution of commodities at trade and storage bases and the freight terminals of railway stations and ports.

RSFSR Appoints New Control Committee Head

LD1110212489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] At the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium: The Presidium has confirmed Comrade Vladimir Petrovich Anishchev as chairman of the RSFSR People's Control Committee and has released Comrade Veniamin Fedorovich Konnov from that post in connection with his retirement.

Gorbachev Adviser Dashichev on Reforms in GDR

AU1110075389 Vienna Television Service in German 2100 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Interview with Soviet historian Vyacheslav Dashichev, an expert on Germany and adviser to Gorbachev, by ORF correspondent Kurt Rammerstorfer; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] Reforms in the GDR seem to be unavoidable. This was made clear by the Soviet state and party leader, Gorbachev, at the weekend [7-8 October]. The historian, Germany expert and Gorbachev adviser Vyacheslav Dashichev, has used even stronger words.

[Dashichev] I think that the old Stalinist system or the model of socialism is doomed to dying out. It has not proven successful. For this reason, people cannot be satisfied with the current situation in our country, and in other East European countries. This applies to the young in particular, who are of course very sensitive to issues concerning human liberties, human rights, and their personal development. The old system limited, paralyzed and stifled developments. In the long run, this is not acceptable. For this reason, it is understandable that a large number of young people have taken to the streets.

[Rammerstorfer] During the demonstrations that took place recently demonstrators repeatedly chanted: Gorby, Gorby, help us! This call, however, did not draw much response. Gorbachev was very cautious in his statements on reforms during his visit to Berlin. Why do you think did he not set a signal?

[Dashichev] In the Soviet Union we believe that the majority of the population in the GDR wants changes, above all changes regarding the political atmosphere, the political system. This involves human liberties, human rights, a relief of travel restrictions, and freedom of movement. I think that great changes will take place in the future, in the foreseeable future.

[Rammerstorfer] But probably not under this leadership.

[Dashichev] Yes. Not under this leadership.

[Rammerstorfer] Who will succeed Erich Honecker?

[Dashichev] I cannot tell you. However, he will certainly be succeeded by representatives of the young generation. They will introduce new things in the GDR's life. This is unavoidable.

[Rammerstorfer] That means that you are also skeptical as far as the current leadership is concerned, that if might initiate reforms. How do you assess the chances?

[Dashichev] A number of measures that bring relief, a number of changes are possible. However, I believe, no basic changes are possible.

[Rammerstorfer] The old leadership is too stubborn and has grown up in this system too long.

[Dashichev] This is right. Very often, the mentality, the way of thinking, the whole experience of old people does not allow them to change and to understand the new realities.

Gorbachev Met by Officials on Return From GDR

LD0710210889 Moscow TASS in English 2101 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Please disregard the item entitled: "Gorbachev Returns From the GDR; Met by Officials" that appeared on page 76, column 2 of the 10 October edition of the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, and in its place note the following TASS report:]

[Text] Moscow October 7 TASS—Soviet president and Communist Party leader Mikhail Gorbachev arrived in Moscow from Berlin today.

He had visited the German Democratic Republic at the invitation of the GDR leadership to attend celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the GDR's foundation.

At the airport, Gorbachev was met by Politburo members Vitaliy Vorotnikov, Lev Zaykov, Vladimir Kryuchkov, Vadim Medvedev, Nikolay Ryzhkov, Eduard Shevardnadze and Aleksandr Yakovlev, by candidate Politburo members, Aleksandr Biryukova, Aleksandr Vlasov, Anatoliy Lukyanov, Yevgeniy Primakov, Boris Pugo, Georgiy Razumovskiy and Dmitriy Yazov, by Central Committee secretaries Oleg Baklanov, Andrey Girenko, Yuriy Manayenkov, Yegor Stroyev and Gumer Usmanov, and by other officials.

The welcoming party included the GDR's charge d'affaires in the Soviet Union, Karl-Heinz Fehlberg.

[Comparison of this TASS item with the translation of a similar report broadcast by Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0803 GMT on 8 October in its "Novosti" newscast adds the name of Ligachev to the list of officials meeting Gorbachev. The television version also has video showing Gorbachev and his wife Raisa leaving the aircraft and being greeted by Ryzhkov; Gorbachev then shakes hands with the others, who are barely visible in the darkness.]

Gdlyan Commission Holds Routine Sitting

PM1210102189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 6

["Own Information" report: "Congress Commission Session"]

[Text] A routine sitting of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies Commission to check the materials connected with the activity of the USSR Prosecutor's Office investigation group headed by T. Gdlyan was held 11 October under the chairmanship of USSR People's Deputy N. Strukov.

Reports were delivered by A. Lipatov, chairman of the Tashkent Oblast Court, and A. Ovcharova, prosecutor of the USSR Prosecutor's Office Criminal Administration, who took part in the trial relating to the so-called "Bukhara case" (of A. Muzaffarov, Sh. Kudratov, and others). They answered the commission's numerous questions.

Inhabitants of Bukhara Oblast who had been witnesses in the case of A. Karimov, former first secretary of the Bukhara Oblast Party Committee, and others gave their accounts to the commission.

Raoul Wallenberg's Sister Appeals for Information

LD0510211589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 5 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] (Nina Lagergren), the sister of Raoul Wallenberg, has left Sweden for Moscow to investigate her brother's fate.

[Correspondent V. Gubernatorov, identified by caption] [Video shows scene at airport terminal] During the years of World War II, the young Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg, who was working in Hungary, saved about 20,000 people—mostly people of Jewish nationality—from certain death in fascist concentration camps. A great deal of courage, self-control, and inventiveness had to be demonstrated in order to organize the deportation of these people, who had been doomed to perish. This was a feat undertaken in the name of humanity. Raoul Wallenberg greeted Budapest's liberation by the Soviet Army with joy, and personally went to present himself to the victors. Unfortunately, he shared the fate of many innocent victims of Stalinism. Furthermore, Moscow gave a somewhat contradictory response to all of Stockholm's official inquiries about him: to start with, that he was alive and well and under reliable protection; then that he was not on Soviet territory at all; and finally that Raoul Wallenberg died in 1947 in a prison cell in the Lubyanka of an infarct miocardium.

Reports appearing in the Western press that Raoul Wallenberg had been seen alive after 1947 gave a

glimmer of hope to his relatives. And now Raoul Wallenberg's sister (Nina Lagergren), is going to Moscow to investigate her brother's fate.

[Begin (Lagergren) recording in Swedish with superimposed Russian translation] This is the first time I have been to the Soviet Union by official invitation for talks about my brother. I hope to obtain true information from the Soviet people about his fate. He saved thousands of people, and despite the fact that 45 years have already elapsed, I am convinced that he is alive. I shall meet the heads of the KGB and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but I do not yet know exactly whom. [end recording]

Asked what sort of man Raoul Wallenberg was, (Nina Lagergren) relates that right from when he was a child, Raoul was good, unselfish, energetic, and demonstrated high abilities in learning foreign languages. All of these character traits were clearly manifested during the war when he was fulfilling his noble mission of saving people. In conclusion, (Nina Lagergren) appealed to all Soviet people: If anyone knows anything about Raoul Wallenberg, please telephone and report this to the representative of the Raoul Wallenberg Society in Moscow, telephone No 283-49-28.

[Announcer] Swedish Embassy staff in the USSR have been apprised of the aim of (Nina Lagergren's) visit to Moscow, and today they provided us with photographs of Raoul Wallenberg. [Video shows still photographs of young man in uniform and in suit. Caption reads: Raoul Wallenberg Society, telephone Moscow 283-49- 28] We announce again: If anyone knows anything about Raoul Wallenberg, we ask you to telephone and tell this to the representative of the Raoul Wallenberg Society in Moscow, telephone 283-49-28.

Petropavlovsk Criminals Arrested, Weapons Seized

PM0610102589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Oct 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "They Confessed to the Crime"]

[Text] A group of unknown people armed with submachineguns carried out a robbery in the city of Omsk this July at the apartment of the chairman of one of the local cooperatives with a view to extorting a large sum of money. The identity of the criminals was established and they were arrested as a result of vigorous tactical investigation and inquiry work by officials from the KGB Omsk and North Kazakhstan Oblast Administrations in collaboration with militia organs. Their weapons were confiscated. They proved to be residents of the city of Petropavlovsk, Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, and confessed to the crime. An investigation is under way.

Supply of Weapons to Uzbek Criminals Reported

18011025 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Sep 89 Second Edition p 6

[Article by B. Pipiya, PRAVDA special correspondent, Samarkand—Tashkent—Moscow: "A Breach...in the Arsenal"]

[Text] **Yu. Lysenko, a foundry worker at the Molot Plant in Sevastopol was arrested when 10 grenades were found in his home. He stated he had gotten them from a military unit and intended to sell them.**

In Kostroma an assault rifle, 150 rounds, 3 smoke-puff charges, and 2 artillery simulators were found in a barn belonging to Soviet Army Senior Lieutenant S. Morozov.

In the military guardhouse of a unit in Altay Kray, Private V. Veselov fired from an assault rifle killing five servicemen. He then seized two pistols, two assault rifles, two grenades, and 200 rounds of ammunition and went into hiding.

Every day we perk up our ears when we hear these reports from the operations summary of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. Weapons... More and more frequently they are falling into the hands of others. Where will the shots ring out? Where will the blood flow?

Until quite recently it was considered that good order and discipline reigned in our Armed Forces. Today we know that—alas—the situation is far from that. Criminal negligence, dereliction of duty, and indifference are drilling gaping holes through which weapons and ammunition are escaping from our military units.

The scene is the military depot in Samarkand garrison of the Turkestan Military District. The dead of night. Three men with crime on their minds secretly penetrate the premises where arms are stored and steal a machine gun, grenade launcher, and a case of ammunition.

Some time afterwards we visited the scene of the crime with Major (Military Justice) V. Sviderskiy, deputy military prosecutor at the Samarkand garrison.

"A troop unit had been located here and was disbanded at the time of the event," Officer Ye. Druzhinin stated. "But some weapons remained in the depot after the guard was released, the result of negligence on the part of responsible officers. To a certain extent patrols continued to operate. And so the people who made off with these weapons were observed and detained by a patrol."

We asked Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich to show us where the event had occurred.

"First of all, I do not know what warehouse the weapons were stolen from (?). Secondly, that particular warehouse is now located within our area, where we have certain facilities," Druzhinin replied, clearly contradicting himself. "Unfortunately, we are unable to take you there."

"Well, perhaps you could just show me this warehouse from the street from which the criminals were able to gain unhindered access?"

At this point, an order was given over the telephone. An official-use Volga arrived 10 minutes later and took us through the unit area.

The warehouse was a single-story brick building. A double metal barrier was set up where the weapons were located. A high reinforced-concrete fence ran at a distance 40 paces away, broken barbed wire hanging from it. Prosecutor Sviderskiy introduced me to one of the perpetrators that day...who turned out to be 12-year-old Rustam Sultanov, a pupil at School No 41 in Samarkand. Sultanov told me....

"We have a friend, Nurmamat Rabbimkulov. He is a year younger than I. His mother died, and his father threw him out. He goes to a boarding school. But things are bad there for Nurmamat—the older kids force him to steal for them and school personnel often beat him. He ran away from the boarding school and for weeks lived with students at the Samarkand Higher Military Motorized Command Institute. We decided to help our friend obtain money for clothes and food. And we wanted money ourselves to be able to go to the movies, buy ice cream.... A friend of ours showed us a place where it would be easy to steal weapons we would later be able to sell for a good price. He told us he had recently sold a Kalashnikov assault rifle for R1,500.

At about nine o'clock in the evening Sultanov, Rabbimkulov, and a certain Ruslan Volkov (whose identity is being ascertained by law-enforcement agencies) gathered together at the institute club. They watched a film, then strolled for about an hour. About midnight they came up to the fence at the military unit. Sultanov was the first one to crawl over it. There was no sentry in the guard tower. And not a soul near the warehouse. Sultanov whistled to signal the other two across. They took a crowbar and an axe from the fire extinguisher station, and got across the double barbed-wire barrier without a scratch. They started pounding through the brick wall. For an entire hour, the echo of hammering blows resounded through the district where, according to the words of Officer Druzhinin, "to a certain extent patrols continued to operate."

Two of the kids crawled inside through the hole they had bored, then dragged out onto the street a grenade launcher, several grenades, a mine, signal flares, a case of machine-gun ammunition, a zinc box with cartridges....

The juveniles showed what they had stolen to servicemen A. Tipa and V. Shvabu, who informed V. Burlakov, senior operations officer of the USSR KGB special section for the Samarkand garrison.

But this is not all. That very same night, 13-year-old Dima Gild and 14-year-old Zhenya Malev also penetrated the unit area where "to a certain extent patrols continued to operate." Stealing up to another warehouse near some tank-track wreckage, they knocked a hole in the wall and made off with...a tank Kalashnikov machine gun. That same evening a machine gun was taken from the personal garage of Warrant Officer R. Makhmutov, an instructor in battery-charging at the institute.

How did such a weapon get in his garage? I read the schoolchildren's testimony from the interrogation transcripts. Gild and Malev met Makhmutov in the cantonment in the morning and offered him the machine gun. Makhmutov agreed to buy it for R50 and took the weapon. Then he asked them to get him a couple of pistols, for which he promised R130. True, the warrant officer categorically denies all of this. "I seized the machine gun from them and wanted to hand it over to the institute director or his deputy," he stated. "But they were busy in a meeting. I therefore took the weapon home, intending to turn it in the next morning."

Here I would like to relate one more story to Colonel N. Senshov, the commander of the unit which was disbanded and robbed. I think the Samarkand police will be interested in it too.

Two days prior to when the weapons and ammunition were stolen, Zhenya Malev, Dima Gild, Ruslan Volkov, and Rakhim Sharipov (whose identity is being ascertained) made their way at night into that very same military unit where "to a certain extent patrols continued to operate." They crawled across a roof to the premises of vehicle technical supply and stole headlights, gauges, candles, windshield wipers, mirrors, sets of keys, and fans. They took all of this property over to Motorpool No 22 and sold it to drivers there. They spent the money they got from this—over R60—on movies, candy, and ice cream.

It turns out this was not the first time Sultanov, Rabbimkulov, and Gild penetrated the military unit where "patrols continued to operate...." They broke through a wall in one of the buildings and found themselves in a storage warehouse. There wasn't anything particular worth stealing. But in order to avoid returning empty-handed—a bad omen—they made off with five sets of uniforms under test.

As you can see, dear reader, the "dark path" to the military unit was tramped through quite a bit earlier. And the assertion that these kids who took the weapons from the warehouse were observed and detained by a security patrol does not correspond with the facts. Who would say today how much of what was taken at an earlier date from army facilities? Property accounting was not being conducted properly, to put it mildly. Otherwise, the officers and warrant officers would have noticed that spare parts and uniforms were missing and, of course, would have observed the appearance of holes in the wall.

I would like to know just how the stolen property was written off. And another thing to be amazed at—immediately after my "heroes" were arrested, a special commission published an order calling for an inspection

of the arms depot. There turned out to be more weapons and ammunition missing than what was found in the possession of these juveniles. The report stated, for example, that 34 illumination flares and 10 hand grenades were missing. Just 7 and 4, respectively, had been confiscated from the school children.

It must be stated, unfortunately, that in certain units and subunits of the USSR Armed Forces no one is responsible for anything. I was interested in finding out just how the commander of the unit which had disbanded was called to account for the irresponsibility shown towards safeguarding weapons and property. "He received stern punishment." "Exactly what punishment?" "That is classified." A familiar line, isn't it? A line the military has used for many years to hide its sins. But times are different now. Could it be possible that our being made aware of how the colonel was punished would weaken the defensive capacity of the Soviet Union?

A good many questions were raised over the course of the newspaper's inquiry into the event at the Samarkand garrison. We hope that law enforcement agencies will find all the answers.

We are forced to admit that a significant portion of weapons fall into the hands of the criminal element of our society through breaches in military depots. But this is not the only way it happens. There has been an increase lately in incidents of desertion, where servicemen on the run seize one or two assault rifles and hundreds of rounds of ammunition. There is another variant typical of our times, as I will present here.

D. Dzhakhangirov, a 22-year-old cutter from the Tashkent excavation plant, decided to become a racketeer and brought two of his friends into it—I. Chemirisov, an electrician at the special projects administration, and D. Luzanovskiy, who does not work anywhere. They needed weapons, and so penetrated the small arms storage facility of the Tashkent DOSAAF [All-Union Voluntary Society for Assistance to the Army, Air Force, and Navy of the USSR]. But all they could find were signal pistols and smoke-puff charges.

A little while later Dzhakhangirov got an idea—they would take the weapons away from the guards at the military unit where he had been recently released from active duty. So the threesome got dressed up in sports clothes and sneakers and armed themselves with knives, signal pistols, and smoke-puff charges.

They crawled through the fence surrounding the military unit at night and struck up a conversation with the guards, S. Fedulayev and I. Zapykin. They smoked together for a while, and when Zapykin went off to make his rounds, Luzanovskiy seized Fedulayev from behind. Dzhakhangirov stabbed him several times, mortally wounding him, and Chemirisov took his assault rifle. Then the murderers overtook Zapykin and asked if he had a cigarette. While the guard was looking through his pockets, Dzhakhangirov thrust a knife into his neck. Zapykin began to fight back using his bayonet and even wounded Dzhakhangirov. But the scoundrels overcame him. They took his rifle and ammunition and started to leave. After they had moved away about 20 meters, they turned around and saw Zapykin, bleeding profusely but attempting to get up. The killers went back. Luzanovskiy began to strangle the victim, then then Chemirisov started beating him over the head with his rifle butt. Finally Dzhakhangirov shoved a blade into his heart.

How did it happen that these sentries committed such gross violations of their orders and permitted bandits to enter the facility entrusted to their watch? These fellows paid for it with their lives. But suppose it were not killers who "dropped by," but ordinary people? They would have had a smoke and gone on their way. What then? Would such an incident be the subject of a serious investigation in the unit? I am afraid not. Almost everywhere commanders look the other way with respect to such incidents.

Where can you find order if not in army units?

The calamitous echo of explosions and small arms fire continues to resound in the Central Asian republics—from weapons scattered about by our units pulled out of Afghanistan. Yes—scattered about. There is no other way to accurately describe it. Upon deployment to new areas of assignment, our internationalist soldiers of yesterday threw assault rifles, grenade launchers, pistols, mines, and shells from their combat vehicles... Ammunition has been sold and traded for food.

The results of such criminal negligence have not been long in coming. Tears have been flowing and grief has arrived in the homes of Termezskiy, Dzharkurganskiy, Angorskiy, and Sherabadskiy rayons of Surkhandarinskaya Oblast. Dozens of children have been killed or wounded from explosions of ammunition strewn about by the "Afgantsy" [Afghanistan veterans].

"Our people have gone around to every house, every yard in those populated areas where there was the greatest concentration of weapons and ammunition," says T. Temirov, an official of the Administration for Maintaining Public Order of the Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Ministry of Internal Affairs. "A consciousness-raising effort has been conducted throughout the school system of Termezskiy and Dzharkurganskiy rayons, and the mass media have been used to address the population in this regard. As a result, more than 10,000 weapons, mines, shells, and pieces of ammunition have been turned in or confiscated from children and adults. We are continuing our efforts in this regard."

"Yes," agrees Major General (Military Justice) V. Vasilyev, Deputy Chief Military Prosecutor and chief of investigations. "There are still a great many incidents of theft and other loss of weapons, ammunition, and explosives in Soviet Army units and institutions. The number of such crimes and misdemeanors has even increased

somewhat recently. And this is not surprising, for every variety of criminal has become more interested in acquiring arms."

Thus, at the bidding of N. Kanishchev and B. Shatakhmetov, unemployed residents of Pushkin Rayon, Moscow Oblast, soldiers recently robbed the reserve supply warehouse at which they were stationed. At three o'clock in the morning, taking advantage of the absence of a duty officer and assistant, Sergeant of the Guard M. Khokhlov took the warehouse keys and turned off the alarm system. Together with Sergeant P. Akhunov, assistant platoon leader, and sentry private V. Golodnyy, he made off with 13 TT pistols and 6 Kalashnikov assault rifles. They loaded the weapons into a sack, wrapped them up in a poncho, and buried them in the ground outside the unit area. Kanishchev promised to pay R43,000 for this. After his arrest, Kanishchev declared that the servicemen would have been killed upon handing over the weapons, to avoid having eyewitnesses to the event as well as allowing him to keep the money.

Major General Vasilyev assured me that the Ministry of Defense has recently been undertaking additional measures to reliably safeguard, secure, and account for weapons, ammunition, and explosives. "These measures and the efforts of military law-enforcement agencies are enabling us to show greater confidence in our system of preventing weapons loss from the Soviet Army," Vasilyev stated.

Well, the words are reassuring. But for the time being...reports from the Ministry of Internal Affairs continue, as before, to bring us alarming news almost every day.

O.D. Baklanov Visits Kuybyshev Oblast 12-14 Sep

PM1909142789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Sep 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Level of Responsibility"]

[Text] O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, familiarized himself 12 through 14 September with the perestroyka process in one of our most industrially developed areas—Kuybyshev Oblast. The serious and ingrained backwardness of the social and consumer conditions in which the aircraft builders, metallurgical workers, chemical workers, and machine builders live and work are in stark contrast to the oblast's great and growing contribution to the development of the national economy. Main attention during the party Central Committee secretary's meetings with the Volga people was devoted to eradicating this dangerous distortion.

The talks at shops at the Kuybyshev Aircraft Plant, the "Progress," "Imeni M.V. Frunze," and "Polimer" Associations, and the "Zavod imeni Maslennikova" convincingly showed that people know that the chances of a centralized solution to this acute problem are limited. We need new approaches and reserves.

One of the most important ways of tangibly moving this work forward is to develop the economic method of constructing housing and sociocultural buildings, the CPSU Central Committee secretary stressed.

The creation of a firm basis for the production of construction materials is a key issue in the development of this progressive method. It is hard for separate enterprises to resolve this task. Hence the conclusion that a local construction materials industry should be formed through the joint efforts and means of plants and associations.

The radical economic reform is creating the necessary conditions. It is important to give material form to these opportunities and to channel all our energies into implementing them. However, in a number of the labor collectives visited by the CPSU Central Committee secretary this task has not yet been perceived as highly important. In this situation, he said, we cannot tolerate passivity, freeloading, or reliance purely on the central authorities.

Many of the discussions focused on the position in the consumer market. People are increasingly concerned by the fact that they are unable to buy the goods they need with their salaries. The expectations that these goods would be supplied to local stores from somewhere have not been borne out.

This means that we must tackle this work more vigorously ourselves. However, at most enterprises in the oblast this task is still being unsatisfactorily resolved. The CPSU Central Committee secretary saw this for himself when he familiarized himself with the range and volume of goods produced.

Things are equally acute with food supplies to the oblast workers. Here too, the CPSU Central Committee secretary noted, we should not count on permanent subsidies. A real improvement in the situation with regard to foodstuffs means not just increasing the returns from the country's agricultural complex, but also resolutely building up the potential of enterprises' subsidiary farms.

The entire range of these most important issues was examined in detail at the enterprises and at meetings of the aktiv of rayon and oblast party organizations and the Chapayevsk City party organization.

One of the features of Kuybyshev Oblast is that many defense complex enterprises operate in the area. The fact that these advanced sectors are able to exert far greater influence on the region's social development was shown by the decision taken on the results of the CPSU Central Committee secretary's visit. Specific measures to accelerate enterprises' development with a clear emphasis on sharply boosting the social sphere were elaborated with the participation of USSR Ministers B.M. Belousov, A.S. Systsov, and O.N. Shishkin, and the leaders of a number of other ministries and departments along with the oblast leadership.

The logic of economic reform prompted the expediency of creating large associations and amalgamations on the basis of the number of defense enterprises located here. Fundamental agreement was reached on this point.

In the oblast's comprehensive socioeconomic development a great role is played by the resolution of ecological problems. This was discussed at virtually all the installations visited by O.D. Baklanov. He familiarized himself with the Chapayevsk plant intended to handle the elimination of chemical weapons. A government decision has now been made, taking account of public opinion and with the oblast leadership's support, to convert this facility into a training center for the development of chemical weapons destruction technology in an inert environment.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary's meeting with the leaders of party and soviet organs in the city and oblast turned into a frank, self-critical, and acute discussion about how to make the processes of perestroyka more effective. Questions were raised about boosting the party's role as society's vanguard, defending our moral and spiritual values, and consolidating all healthy forces.

Serious concern was voiced about the lowering of trade, contractual, and executive discipline. A consequence of this, the meeting participants said, has been the strikes that have rocked our economy and deepened social tension.

O.D. Baklanov was accompanied on his visit to the oblast by V.G. Afonin, first secretary of Kuybyshev CPSU Oblast Committee; V.I. Mosychenko, chairman of the oblast soviet executive committee, USSR ministers, and other party and economic leaders.

Georgian MVD Officers Disciplined

PM1909132389 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 25 Aug 89 p 4

[Georgian Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) Press Group report: "Session of Georgian MVD Collegium"]

[Excerpts] An enlarged session of the Georgian MVD Collegium was held 14 August 1989. It examined the results of republic internal affairs organs' operational service activity during the first 7 months of the year, tasks concerned with implementing USSR Supreme Soviet decisions on resolutely intensifying the struggle against crime, the state of socialist legality and discipline, the events in the Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] and a number of regions of Georgia, and the personnel's actions under extreme conditions.

It was stressed with complete frankness that work to safeguard law and order and protect the interests of society and citizens' lawful rights is being carried out inadequately, that the demands that socialist legality and law and order be resolutely strengthened are being met too slowly, and that a comprehensive approach is not always ensured when specific tasks of perestroyka are tackled. The events that occurred in the Abkhaz ASSR and a number of rayons in western Georgia and Kvemo Kartli showed utterly clearly the inability of many rayon internal affairs department chiefs in Georgia and political workers to correctly organize the personnel's work under extreme conditions, which led to the seizure of weapons and complication of the operational situation. [passage omitted]

After hearing an information report on the events in the Abkhaz ASSR, the Kvemo Kartli zone, and rayons of western Georgia, the collegium noted the unsatisfactory work carried out by the MVD leadership and political organs and chiefs of services and subunits. The leadership and personnel of internal affairs departments in those rayons, possessing no information about the actions being prepared, were ill-prepared to take decisive action in the extreme situation that obtained and in certain cases displayed confusion and a lack of resolve and courage.

In the conditions of exacerbated interethnic relations, the leaders of the Abkhaz ASSR MVD acted in an unconcerted and ill-considered way. Confusion and muddle occurred, and some staffers made concessions to the demands of lawbreakers. Militia Major D. Shlarba, chief of the Ochamchirskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department, committed treachery. Shlarba arranged that shotguns and ammunition be handed out to groups of people at 0800 hours on 16 July. He has been arrested. This first instance of weapons being handed out in the city of Ochamchira served as the signal for attacks to be carried out on the buildings of internal affairs organs in other rayons of the republic.

Measures taken have meant that 42.8 percent of stolen weapons have been recovered to date: 70 percent of machineguns, 76 percent of automatic rifles, 38 percent of pistols, 72 percent of rifles, and 31 percent of shotguns.

It also has to be noted that thanks to measures adopted by the leadership of a whole series of internal affairs subunits (the Kutaisi City Internal Affairs Administration, the Tskhaltubo and Gagra City Internal Affairs Departments, and the Lanchkhutskiy, Sachkherskiy, and other rayon internal affairs departments in Georgia) no standard-issue or other weapons were seized. It should be noted that some militiamen did act with commitment and vigor, and 30 staffers suffered injuries as a result.

Analysis of the events show that that the MVD leadership, Collegium, and Political Department underestimated the situation and the mounting tension and consequently failed to take preemptive measures to ensure public safety and brought inadequate influence to bear upon the work of internal affairs organs to mobilize their personnel, thwart mass acts of illegality, and normalize the situation.

Substantial omissions occurred in the organization of ideological education work, particularly the international education of personnel. This helped bring about cases of staffers splitting on national lines in the Abkhaz ASSR. There were instances of treacherous action by staffers of the Bolnisskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department, many of whom failed to report for work during the period of mounting tension in the rayon. In all, 25 of the rayon's staffers have been punished with regard to the events, of whom 2 have been dismissed from the organs, 2 removed from their posts, and 1 arrested. [Passage omitted]

At the present time, in view of the fact that a certain number of stolen weapons are still in the population's possession, the decision has been made to set up a special staff charged with recovering them, which is headed by Major General of Internal Service V. Shaduri, first deputy minister. [passage omitted]

By the collegium's decision a number of leaders of the Georgian MVD, the Abkhaz ASSR MVD, and a whole series of republic internal affairs organs and subunits have been removed from their posts and punished for work shortcomings, failure to control the situation, and failure to adopt requisite measures to safeguard public order in extreme conditions.

The collegium examined organizational questions. Militia Colonel R. Tushurashvili, who was chief of the Georgian Internal Affairs Administration for Transport, was appointed chief of the Tbilisi City Soviet Executive Committee Internal Affairs Administration.

Colonel T. Epitashvili, who was Georgian deputy internal affairs minister, has been appointed chief of the Georgian Internal Affairs Administration for Transport.

Militia Colonel G. Shalamberidze, who was deputy chief of the the Tbilisi City Internal Affairs Administration, was appointed chief of the Georgian MVD Criminal Investigation Administration, and Militia Colonel R. Machavariani, who worked in the USSR MVD, and Militia Lieutenant Colonel G. Talakvadze, who was chief of the Ozurgetskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department, were appointed his deputies.

Militia Lieutenant Colonel G. Pataraya, who was previously deputy chief of the Georgian MVD Administration for Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation, was appointed its chief.

Militia Colonel N. Tskrilashvili, who was deputy chief of the Georgian MVD Criminal Investigation Administration, was appointed chief of the department combating organized crime by the collegium.

Militia Lieutenant Colonel A. Lominashvili, who was deputy chief of the Georgian MVD Internal Affairs Administration for Transport, and Militia Lieutenant Colonel M. Agrba, who was deputy chief of the Abkhaz ASSR MVD Criminal Investigation Department, were appointed Abkhaz ASSR deputy ministers of internal affairs.

O. Gonadze, chief of the Goergian Communist Party State and Law Department, took part in the collegium's work.

Journalists View PRAVDA's 'Circulation War'

PM1210090089

[Editorial Report] London ITV Television Network in English at 1800 GMT on 10 October, in its channel 4 "News" program, carries a 6-minute report by ITN correspondent David Smith in Moscow on the circulation wars between Soviet newspapers. Smith reports that PRAVDA, faced with competition from rival papers and suffering as a result of its image as the CPSU's mouthpiece, suffered "a staggering drop in circulation from 10 million to 3.5 million." He goes on to say: "Out on the streets they say it's because PRAVDA is simply out of touch." Smith discusses PRAVDA's recent problems with the newspaper's deputy editor, Mikhail Korolev, and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA columnist Pavel Voshchanov, speaking in Russian with superimposed English translation, and with Viktor Gribachev, referred to in captions as "editor, SOVIET JOURNALIST magazine," speaking in English.

Smith gives some background on the circulation wars saying: "PRAVDA: the word means 'truth.' And for many years they've had a joke in the Soviet Union: The truth is what PRAVDA says it is. No more, because in the past 2 weeks the newspaper that's always been the voice of this country has become embroiled in a fairly disastrous scandal. In the process the Communist Party's been discredited, a circulation war of sorts has started, and the man who leads the radical opposition to Mr Gorbachev has been positively rehabilitated. It all began when Boris Yeltsin, the loose cannon of Soviet politics, went to America on a lecture tour that quickly became political theater. PRAVDA didn't report his speeches and his warnings that Mr Gorbachev might not survive. Instead, it published an article from an Italian newspaper, LA REPUBBLICA, which depicted Mr Yeltsin in America as a drunk spending enormous lecture fees on his wardrobe. 'For Yeltsin, America's a holiday, a stage set, a bar 5,000 km long,' the article said."

According to Smith, the next day Gorbachev summoned PRAVDA Chief Editor Viktor Afanasyev and apparently read him "the riot act." The next day PRAVDA did something it has never done before—it published a public retraction and apology: "The editors of PRAVDA apologize to Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin."

PRAVDA Deputy Editor Mikhail Korolev tells Smith: "Such journalism is unacceptable in a newspaper like PRAVDA because the long tradition of PRAVDA is to tell people the truth."

The correspondent reports that the matter might have ended there, but in the new battle for readers "PRAVDA's rivals went to town." Smith says that KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA wrote about Yeltsin's trip to America, rebutting PRAVDA's version at every turn. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA columnist Pavel Voshchanov tells Smith: "I know PRAVDA's losing millions of subscribers; it's a significant loss. PRAVDA has got a reputation now as a paper living in the past and a paper holding up perestroyka that doesn't appeal to readers."

Editor Viktor Gribachev tells Smith: "Now even such a highly respected—it means it is the publication of the Central Committee—newspaper like PRAVDA has to recognize its mistakes in public and, well, that's a good sign. Well, using that standard term, it's a sign of democratization."

The program concludes with David Smith saying that this good for glasnost and Mr Yeltsin, who has probably never been more popular: Soviet television now reports everything Yeltsin says and does and seems to carry more weight than PRAVDA.

Editorial Discusses Winter Energy Concerns

PM0510091589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Oct 89 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Heat for Winter: Will the Cold Not Catch People Unawares?"]

[Text] The middle month of autumn is upon us. But the frosts have already begun to bite in central regions of the country, and in the North and Siberia the daytime air temperature is dipping toward zero. This means that the cold weather is not far away now. And the question "how are the preparations for winter progressing?" becomes more urgent with each passing day.

The second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet stressed that preparation for winter in the country is proceeding extremely unsatisfactorily. The situation could be called an emergency. The correct conclusions from the mistakes of past years have still not been drawn in all republics, oblasts, cities, organizations, and enterprises. Matters are improving slowly in, for example, Kostroma and Ivanovo Oblasts, the Chuvash and Mordvin Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics [ASSR], and a number of other regions. Despite the fact that special staffs and commissions are set up each year there and spot checks are carried out. The negligent are reprimanded at party committees, people's control agencies, and local soviets. But the cold weather comes and the complaints from the population begin flooding in. How much more can people's patience stand? Isn't it time to end the formalism in the work of all these "staffs," to begin in good time rather than all pitching in at the last moment, to get down to work seriously, and to meet the winter fully equipped.

This year has been special, not an easy one. The aftereffects of the Chernobyl tragedy, the accidents at industrial enterprises and on the railroad, the earthquakes in Armenia and elsewhere, and the mass disruptions of public order are still taking their toll. All those things are having an adverse effect on the preparation for the cold season.

The USSR Supreme Soviet session also noted that strikes in the coal industry, caused by serious omissions by the leaders of ministries and the sector trade union in resolving mining collectives' social problems, disruptions in transport, and also a decline in plan and contract discipline are among the reasons for the poor preparation for the winter. The USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry cut coal extraction by 13 million tonnes in comparison with the corresponding period last year. Despite the fact that there has been an overall increase in coal stocks in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic stocks are below the normative level in Murmansk, Kurgan, and Magadan oblasts and in the Komi, Buryat, and Tatar ASSRs.

Nor is the Ministry of Railways fulfilling its targets. Since the beginning of the year coal shipments have been almost 20 million tonnes below the plan. In September alone rail workers supplied around 100,000 freight cars less than the target. But the Coal Industry Ministry in turn failed to make use of more than 11,000 units of rolling stock. What a shambles. Disruptions to shipments and the unstable work of oil refineries have meant that the demand for petroleum products, particularly for winter grades, has not been met in regions of the Far North and the Far East.

A chronic complaint is the inordinate length of the technical servicing intervals of power industry equipment. The plan for repairs is not being met in Azerbaijan, Georgia, the Ukraine, or the North Caucasus. The repair of heat supply networks is proceeding slowly in Vladimir, Volgograd, Kuybyshev, Ryazan, and other cities due to the shortage of large-diameter pipes. By 1 September only half of the boiler houses in Stavropol Kray and Orenburg Oblast were ready while in Rostov Oblast—a prime example of a lack of concern—the figure is just 20 percent. Much here depends on metal workers. It will take extra tens of thousands of tonnes of various types of pipe to make good the deficit. The USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply must show vigor and find the necessary resources.

As the first frosts appear both the successes and the failures in the winter preparations become evident. If it is warm at home, at work, and in public buildings people are happy. But the stream of letters addressed to soviet executive committees, people's control committees, newspaper editorial offices, and the radio complaining about the poor heat supply is diminishing only slowly. Investigations show that many of the problems are due to local failings.

It has long been noted how little haste is sometimes shown when new heat supply networks are being laid and worn out ones replaced during the fine weather of summer. But the deadline approaches and what is virtually around-the-clock rush work begins to make good the omissions. Its "achievements" are well known: Poor quality of work, possible accidents, and subsequent repairs in the difficult conditions of winter. And what about this fact. At Belogorsk in Amur Oblast they dismantled equipment at the old, operational boiler before the new one had been commissioned. People were left without heat. Is this satisfactory?

In some of the country's cities the deadline for handing over buildings and premises complete with certificates of heat supply readiness has passed. They stipulate the completion of a number of guaranteed jobs—from the repair of boilers to the heating of entrance halls and stairwells. The issue of certificates is far from complete everywhere: Where hot water pipes spring a leak, where heat insulation is defective, and where the wind whistles through the corridors. Practice shows that approximately 20 percent of heat is lost from poorly prepared buildings. But it is not all that difficult to retain it and use it for people's benefit. There must be greater responsibility and a truly thrifty attitude to the resolution of our everyday problems.

The campaign against negligence and the economical use of energy resources have still not become the norm for many consumers. The difficulties with coal are well known. But how do customers treat their coal sometimes? Coal delivered to heat supply enterprises, for example, is stored in breach of the instructions, kept haphazardly, scattered about sites, goes missing, or is lost to the rain. What is the outcome of this "storage"? The main result is that when it is burned in boiler house furnaces it produces considerably less heat than it could have done. The outcome is overconsumption of coal or the coal shortage at the end of the cold season.

Thrift in the use of fuel and energy resources must be inculcated in everyone—the labor collective leader, the boiler house machine operator, the depot worker, the home owner, and the owner of industrial or public buildings. This is a matter for party committees and enterprises' economic services. There should be better moral and material incentives for the thrifty. Only then will every tonne of coal and oil and kilowatt-hour of electricity be used to maximum benefit for man. Herein lies the guarantee of a good preparation for the winter.

Progress, Threats to Soviet Power Viewed

PM0510141589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Oct 89 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Doctor of Juridical Sciences Robert Vachaganovich Yengibaryan and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Yuriy Ivanovich Filippov, senior officials at the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department, by own correspondent Colonel Ye. Smirnov, retired, meritorious cultural worker of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, under the rubric "Discussion on Topical Subject": "The Party and the Soviets"; date and place unspecified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Along with the radical economic reform more and more scope and strength is now being gained by the transformations of our society's political system and, above all, by the regeneration of the full power of the soviets as the foundation of socialist statehood and self-government in the country. Certain aspects of this complex and contradictory process were discussed by a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent and two senior officials from the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department—Doctor of Juridical Sciences Robert Vachaganovich Yengibaryan and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Yuriy Ivanovich Filippov.

[Smirnov] There is currently a vogue, even in official documents, for expressions such as "Soviet parliament," "parliamentary committee," "parliamentary inquiry," and so forth, which obviously represent a recognition of the fact that a parliamentary system is becoming established or is already established in the country. And yet even before the October victory V.I. Lenin had warned that a return to a parliamentary republic from a republic of soviets would be a retrograde step in revolutionary development. So are we now taking this retrograde step?

[Yengibaryan] First and foremost I would like to emphasize that V.I. Lenin's attitude to parliamentarianism and its institutions was not straightforward. Yes, he subjected this system of state leadership of society created and organized by the bourgeoisie to withering criticism, revealed its class essence, and unmasked its anti-people nature, which was particularly marked at the start of this century. When the question was put to the Russian working people of what form of state system they should have during society's transition from capitalism to socialism they resolutely rejected a parliamentary democratic republic and equally resolutely advocated a republic of soviets "throughout the country, from top to bottom." As we know, this was the path that history took.

But V.I. Lenin had in no way rejected parliamentarianism from the outset. He saw it not just as a product of bourgeois minds but also as a common human asset created by civilization over several centuries. And therefore he believed that the working class and all working people were not entitled at all to reject its utilization if this would promote the success of their struggle for social liberation and the building of socialism.

This is particularly topical now, in the era of perestroyka and new thinking. As a result, such undoubtedly progressive elements of parliamentarianism as the supremacy of the law, the clear demarcation of legislative and other types of state activity, the accountability and responsibility of the executive to the supreme representative

organ, and so forth are becoming increasingly firm fixtures in our system of state leadership.

However, can such changes as are taking place in our state system be seen as the retrograde step talked of by V.I. Lenin? Of course, we have indeed taken a step—and a considerable one at that. Only it is a step forward, not backward. It is a step not from a republic of soviets to a parliamentary republic, but rather a step along the road of strengthening, developing, and improving the soviets themselves by enriching their arsenal with everything valuable and useful accumulated in the centuries of world experience of parliaments and parliamentarianism.

[Smirnov] As is well known, the essence of the restructuring of our political system lies in transferring full power to the land of the soviets. But how were the soviets, which were born in the fires of revolution and did so much to bring about its triumph, elbowed aside from power, which became concentrated to all intents and purposes in the party and state apparatus? What was the reason? Was it just the malevolence of political leaders, Stalin above all?

[Filippov] Indeed, at all stages of the Russian working class' revolutionary struggle, starting with the 1905 revolution, the role of the soviets as organs for defending the interests of working people and subsequently as organs of genuine people's power was exceptionally high. And this powerful political system—which successfully opposed the bourgeois Provisional Government, was able to rebuff the counterrevolution, and laid the foundations of our socialist home—was powerless in the face of the crude violence from Stalin's regime of personal power relying on a bloated and bureaucratic party-state apparatus.

It is now often said that the soviets could have stood their ground if the party had protected them. But what could the party do when it itself had fallen victim to the personality cult, had been drained of life by mass repressions, and had been placed under the harsh control of the same administrative apparatus? It is not surprising that its alliance with the soviets was destroyed. And one of the most important reasons for this situation, I think, is the fact that neither the party, the state, nor society were aware in time of the threat of a resurgence of absolutism. Consequently, a legal mechanism able to oppose the appearance of such a regime was not worked out. This was affected by the lack of political and legal standards among the broad people's masses and the undeveloped state of society's democratic traditions. So it is not simply a question of the malevolence of political leaders.

[Smirnov] How are we to understand the transfer of power to the soviets if the party is not abandoning—and cannot abandon—its role as society's vanguard at such a turning point in its history as the present time represents? What mechanism is being outlined for collaboration between two such powers as the party and the state authorities?

[Filippov] Power is a multifaceted concept—it takes many shapes and forms. In this particular case we are talking about state power, which—and this is clear from the fact that our state is called a soviet state—should belong to the soviets. Previously the party supplanted the soviets to a considerable extent, undertook the fulfillment of a number of the functions of state power and administration, and was in charge of elective organs. It is now abandoning this alien role.

Under the conditions of democratization and the eradication of all barriers hampering the development of civilian society, the party is conscientiously and persistently strengthening the soviets as organs of people's power and simultaneously regaining for the first time its functions as a political party. It is putting everything in place: The soviets should rule and govern, while the party should shape public opinion—by conducting active political and ideological work among the masses and a broad and equal dialogue with all of society's democratic forces—and influence state policy through the weight of its prestige and the activity of Communists elected to the soviets.

[Smirnov] In practice, however, not everything has gone as smoothly as that. The recent elections of USSR people's deputies, for instance, have shown that certain party committees have not yet found their feet in this campaign to which we are largely unaccustomed.

[Filippov] There were actually many party committees which turned out to be incapable of leading the election campaign. Some people relied on the power of inertia, while others simply became confused and dispirited by the particular features of the election campaign.

[Smirnov] What is the forecast? After all, we have elections to union and autonomous republic supreme soviets and local soviets ahead of us. What has past experience taught us?

[Filippov] The forthcoming election campaign promises to be very difficult. And it is not, of course, simply a question of the large number of deputies to be elected, but also of the specific features of the elections themselves. As is well known, there are many acute social problems awaiting resolution locally. And the entire current of not simply different but often even mutually exclusive approaches to their resolution, options, viewpoints, and positions, will bear down on the future candidate deputies. So we will hardly succeed in avoiding acutely inflamed feelings and rally-style democracy.

That is why party committees, if they do not want to be constantly trying to catch up with events, must get involved in preparations for the election campaign right now. And the preparations themselves should be fundamentally different. In order to ensure success at the elections—and success is not automatically guaranteed nowadays—party committees should not just take attentive account of and reflect public opinion but, as has already been said, should also actively shape it by

propagandizing and explaining their political line. They need to have a concrete program of practical actions, they should not avoid sensible compromise with different social movements, and they should work out a democratic intraparty mechanism for nominating candidates from the CPSU.

[Smirnov] The transfer of power to the soviets at local level is already happening now, even before new elections are held. How is this process proceeding? What difficulties is it encountering? What can be said, for instance, about cases when certain soviets turn out to be not so much under party influence as under the influence of certain informal structures which sometimes advocate nationalist positions?

[Yengibaryan] Yes this process has begun, it is under way and proceeding with some difficulty. Incidentally, it could have been presumed beforehand that the practical implementation of this course, and the transfer of a number of party and, particularly, executive organ functions to the soviets would not be easy or painless. After all, we are talking about dismantling a number of parts of an already well-organized state mechanism and giving it a new quality in line with the demands of the era of democracy and glasnost. And the perestroyka process should proceed in such a way as to prevent the creation of a so-called neutral situation in which new ideas would not be realized and old ideas would no longer work. The mechanism of authority and the law regulating the activity of society and its members should operate clearly, continually, and independently of the political situation prevailing in the country and its regions.

As for the weakening of party influence over certain soviets, this is happening, of course. But there is only one way to rectify the situation: by explaining that administrative pressure is inappropriate nowadays and by conducting an equal struggle along with other social organizations and movements to influence representative organs within the framework of the law.

[Smirnov] There was recently a nationwide wave of mass strikes by miners. In some ways the strike committees leading them were reminiscent of the soviets of workers' deputies from the time of the revolution. Would it be a good idea for our current soviets to take a closer look at their experience and borrow a few things from it?

[Filippov] The miners' strike gave many people a sense of pride in the working class and faith in its strength and political maturity. It strengthened their conviction that from now on the cause of perestroyka will be in its reliable hands. Cohesion, discipline, persistence in upholding fair demands, and resolute rejection of demagoguery—these admirable qualities of the organized workers' movement could set an example for many social organizations and movements, not least for party organizations and the soviets.

The strike committees did not set themselves the goal of taking power. They became local organs of power by accident, and they were prestigious and recognized by the bulk of the population. Undoubtedly, their experience should be carefully studied. Although, of course, we should bear in mind the fact that strikes in our country—with its centralized and, let's face it, ailing economy—are not the best way of resolving social conflicts. And the soviets should prepare themselves not to indulge in a trial of strength but to make the best use of the opportunities opening up for them as a result of the democratization of our political system.

[Smirnov] And here, of course, a great deal depends on the corps of deputies. V.I. Lenin once said that every cook should study state administration. The practice of the work of the soviets, including the supreme organs of state power, shows that this science has not yet been properly learned by many titular deputies. How can we ensure that those elected by the people not only assume the right of running the state but are also able to do it professionally?

[Yengibaryan] The problem of cadre competence is naturally important in any undertaking, all the more so in the activity of organs of state power. The difficulty here is that, on the one hand, politics does not tolerate dilettantism but demands supreme professionalism from everyone who enters it. But, on the other hand, a single deputy—even with the highest scientific degrees and titles—cannot properly look into the full diversity of the issues tackled every day by the soviets. Since, indeed, the infinite cannot be encompassed.

How is this problem to be solved? By comprehensively training inexperienced deputies in the difficult profession of politics, by ensuring that they engage in independent study, and by involving specialists from various branches of knowledge in helping the deputies to prepare certain questions. And the activities of the soviets themselves and meetings with voters are a good political schooling for the deputies.

[Smirnov] One last question. Can it be said that the incipient process of the democratization of the soviets and their acquisition of full power will not be impeded? What does the party see as the guarantee that everything will not return to the way it was before?

[Filippov] Although the process of the democratization of the soviets has only just started and has as yet only affected their upper echelons, this powerful breakthrough toward people's power is already irreversible in my opinion, and it is hardly possible to impede it. This will simply be prevented by the people, whose politicization has now reached a very high level. I think it is more important to draw attention to another thing: the fact that the renewed soviets should not be submerged in the sort of waffle we have already encountered, and that they should get down to work and resolve specific problems straightaway.

[Yengibaryan] I, of course, share this optimistic view of the fate of the reform of the political system. But, as a lawyer, I would like to draw attention to the fact that, regrettably, we as yet have no economic, political, or

legal guarantees that the course of renewal and democratization will be irreversible. The mechanism for providing such guarantees is still being constructed unhurriedly and with difficulty, and it is encountering opposition from certain state structures which are either unwilling or unable to abandon their old pre-perestroyka working methods.

Deputy Railroad Minister Isingarin Interviewed

18290293 Moscow GUDOK in Russian 22 Sep 89 pp 1-2

[Interview with N.K. Isingarin, deputy minister of railways, by V. Gitkovich: "Getting On With Business"; date and place unknown]

[Text] When it became known that N.K. Isingarin, deputy minister of railways, was returning to his previous position of railroad chief, the Alma-Ata railroad this time, our correspondent V. Gitkovich called him for an interview.

[Gitkovich] So, Nigmatzhan Kabatayevich, you are "back where you started from." First of all, what brought about this decision? And, second, in each stage of life it is useful to sum up the results, draw conclusions, and make plans for the future.

[Isingarin] Well, let us give it a try. It is easy to explain my decision. I worked as chief of the Tselina for more the 2 years and did not manage to accomplish very much. Now the railroads have become independent, economically accountable complexes. So it seems to me that the right thing to do is not to tell others how they can and should organize their work under the new management conditions, but to act.

They must arrange things so that every person in his own position will feel that he is the master and will be vitally interested in improving things and in increasing discipline, and will show initiative and gumption. Then we will begin to earn more—all of us together and each of us individually, we will be able to contribute more money for social needs and for the development and improvement of the railroad business.

And now about the results. It seems to me that we have managed to improve our interactions with the Ministry of Transport Construction. We have introduced a system of regular conference calls without abusing them by having too many, taking only 20 minutes a month from the leaders of the railroad and the construction trust, we have managed to achieve closer contact among the railroads and the trusts, and we have begun to solve problems better and more rapidly. And as a result during the past 2 years—1987 and 1988—we have assimilated all the funds allotted to us.

It is also very important that we have managed to turn the chiefs of the railroads and division in the direction of solving social problems. Judge for yourselves. During each year of this 5-year plan we have introduced an average of 1.91 million square meters of dwelling space as compared to 1,576,000 during the past 5 years; general educational schools to accommodate 9,600 and 8,100 respectively; and kindergartens for 10,000 and 8,600 children, respectively. We have accelerated the rates of construction through our own forces. This method of construction is gathering speed.

As proof I will say that although this year the limit on construction and installation work for which material resources were allotted was reduced, the railroads themselves included in their plan various facilities worth R200 million more than was earmarked and they are looking for materials for this.

[Gitkovich] What does the growth of construction rely on?

[Isingarin] The main unsolved problem is that the potential gathered by the Ministry of Transport Construction and our railroad construction trusts is much greater than the limit planned for 1990 which is backed up by material resources.

We understand that this is linked to the fact that now in the country as a whole, including in transportation, the volume of investments in capital construction has decreased. But still we must construct just as much: there are plenty of bottlenecks both in production and in the social sphere. Under these conditions there is just one solution—greater efforts on the part of the railroads themselves.

[Gitkovich] Where can the mainlines get the money?

[Isingarin] First of all we must regularly fulfill the plans for shipments and other indicators of our basic activity, use bank credit better, increase the quantity of paid services to the population, and be stricter about exacting fines for holding cars too long, money for storing cars, and so forth. It is also necessary to enlist the funds of local organizations for the construction of railroad stations, sidings, cargo areas, and other general purpose facilities. We must arrange interaction with the construction organizations through direct contacts, exchanging various kinds of services with them. It is very important to actively enlist the funds of the population in the housing construction cooperatives for individual construction as well.

I think that in order to achieve the most rapid return it would be good to switch to small construction projects and facilities which eliminate any bottlenecks and make it possible to obtain an effect within just 2-3 years.

In order to reduce the volumes of new construction it is necessary to make a sharp change in the direction of expansion, reconstruction, and development of existing shops, depots, and workshops, and fill them with new equipment. In certain cases it is probably possible to avoid new construction by using abandoned, unfinished buildings that are standing there unused.

Of course, we must develop our own construction base. We must create specialized subdivisions for sanitary-technical and other work. With the current shortage of construction materials, we should arrange for their output not only for ourselves, but also for exchange for other things that are in short supply. We must even more extensively develop restoration and then repeated utilization of ties, rails, and parts of written-off cars that are still serviceable.

This list of measures that make it possible to find means and possibilities of expanding construction can be continued for a long time. I think that people in the railroad business know about them as well, but they do not always take advantage of them.

[Gitkovich] Tell me, as chief of a railroad, how do you picture the work of the deputy minister? Were your assumptions justified and to what extent?

[Isingarin] I thought that here in the branch headquarters the deputy ministers and leaders of main administrations would solve only large, fundamental problems that require careful study, generalization, and the enlistment of many people; that is, that here they would work out policy and strategy.

But, unfortunately, a very great deal, perhaps even most of their time goes for solving trivial problems that are within the competence not only of the railroad or division leadership but even of the line enterprises.

Let us simply look together at the mail they brought me today. Here is one from Belovo where the workers of the supply section are addressing their letter to the minister. But the problem could have been solved by the regional or division office. Here is a letter from Bataysk to the chairman of the gorispolkom [city executive committee] concerning the razing of one building. But why does the railroad not solve this problem? From the Tayga depot they are asking us to help them solve a problem having to do with the delivery of blocks for large panel construction. But there is the railroad division and administration and there are local construction organizations. This problem should be solved there. And so forth.

[Gitkovich] Well, do you send letters like this back to the railroad?

[Isingarin] No, I do not send them back since the people are writing. They would have to wait too long for the paperwork to get through the mail. I use the telephone. I try to come to a decision with the railroad. But this can also be done without the telephone. But the fact that the problems are not resolved locally brings in a flow of letters to the ministry. This is natural: A person must complain to someone higher.

In my view, if I am working as the chief of a railroad and somebody has gone over my head, this means that he has expressed a lack of confidence in me. The same thing is true in the division. Incidentally, the number of letters is not always the same. There are many fewer of them from the railroads of Siberia, Kazakhstan, and the Far East than from the European part of the union.

Of course, here I was working with the BAM [Baykal-Amur Mainline] and the construction projects of the Tyumen North, and for railroad affairs we had a special board and published order No 38. All these are indeed large and important issues. But were it not for the trivial business many more of them would be resolved! The fact that all leaders of the Ministry of Railways and the main administration without exception spend an immense amount of time on trivia costs the entire branch a good deal.

[Gitkovich] Will your experience as deputy minister help you in any way in your work as railroad chief?

[Isingarin] I gained an enormous amount of experience. My horizons were greatly expanded. I saw everything as though from higher ground. I understood what I had done correctly before and where I had been mistaken or had not done enough. I found out which issues should be brought here and which I should have resolved myself. I think that both I and the other railroad chiefs should do as much as possible to relieve the ministry of routine work so that here they will be able to carry out the branch policy on a large scale. This is what I intend to do. And in a year or a year and a half we shall see how well I succeed.

But there is another thing which I impressed on everyone as chief of the Tselina railroad: "We must build our own life!" Now I have been convinced once again that this slogan must be realized with redoubled energy. I have been convinced that only by inspiring the people to solve their own vitally important problems will this be done in their own best interests.

We must not simply wait for help from above. The ministry and the government will help us, of course, but this help will be effective only if we contribute to this work ourselves. If we (as you see, I am already including myself among those on the railroad) do not motivate the people we shall resolve nothing either in the production or in the domestic sphere.

[Gitkovich] Well, what have you been unable to do? What do you think were the shortcomings in your work?

[Isingarin] First of all, I did not have sufficient knowledge about railroad management. And I had to spend a lot of time catching up on all the problems. And although, as I have already said, we managed to get something done, I think we could have and should have done more in railroad management. This was the first shortcoming.

Second, I was not able to convince the chiefs of all the railroads that management must be developed much more actively everywhere. Now, in my opinion, all the railroads can be divided into three approximately equal groups: the first—where they do everything themselves;

second—where they have an average amount of activity; and third—where they expect people to come to them and do everything.

When going out onto the line, I solved some problems on one railroad and some on another. But unless there is an overall system for daily concentrated work, the attempts of any deputy minister when he comes and tries to motivate everyone by solving individual problems will not be successful. We must have overall activity.

Naturally, there were other shortcomings as well. I started to solve many problems without completing them.

[Gitkovich] Do you gain much by sending people from the ministry to go and straighten out one botileneck or another? Do they not tie the hands of the leadership and, finally, do they not give them the idea that if things get bad enough someone will come and take charge?

[Isingarin] They must go out there to assign responsibility and not take it. I will not say anything about operational and technological questions; I will just discuss what I worked on. It is not always necessary to go out to the site. For instance, the chairman of a gorispolkom sends a telegram: "I request that the deputy minister come and solve a problem with the construction of the train station (or a building)." But why then have a division chief or a railroad chief?

Sometimes ministry workers are invited to hearings conducted by local soviet or party organs. And there they speak for the leaders of the railroads or divisions. But it does seem that the leaders themselves should make the decisions and be responsible for them and not hide behind ministry workers.

[Gitkovich] When you were a railroad chief did you like it when the deputy minister would come to "prod" you?

[Isingarin] No. I thought that he should come and look along with me, make suggestions, and ask questions, but not interfere with my orders and certainly not do my work for me. By no means! The more so since it is difficult for someone who has just arrived to get in the swing of things. He does not know the details of the situation or the people.

I think that if a person is doing his job he should be trusted and suggestions should be given to him once in a while. If he is not doing his job he should not be prodded and the work should not be done for him—he should be relieved of his duty.

And in general I have my own idea about responsibility. In 1988 when I was chief at Tselina we analyzed the penalties received by various people. In 9 years the chief of the railroad car service had received 18 penalties, the track service—17, and the cargo service—13. Although each of them pulled his own weight and did quite a good job. There were cases where a person would receive 6 penalties in a year. Was that necessary? I do not think so. It is always possible to figure out quickly whether a person is suited to his job or not. If not, he should not be constantly penalized. He should be helped to find a job for which he is suited. One must find a position where he will be useful and transfer him tactfully, doing the least possible harm both to his self-esteem and his material interest. I think you understand that we are speaking about conscientious workers and not about loafers in any position.

[Gitkovich] During the years while you were working here you had to change over to the new management methods. How has the situation changed now that a lot has obviously already been done? What do you yourself intend to do first when you go back to being a railroad chief?

[Isingarin] In the first place, unfortunately, I cannot say that all the workers on the lines have a clear idea of what self-financing is or that they are doing exactly what they should be doing under the new management conditions. Judging from the previous approach to the planning and leadership of work, the endless appeals to the ministry concerning various problems, and the numerous requests to "give, allot, permit," one gets the impression that there is not much new on many of the railroads.

And the first thing I shall do when I return is to deal with the economics. Today if the chief of a division or railroad does not know economics he is not a chief. He and all of his collective must know where it is possible to earn a ruble or two and where to spend them.

And another thing: We are always debating the issue of the division of the railroad. Until the divisions are on a firm basis of economic accountability, until the chiefs of stations, depots, and regions feel that their superiors are really efficient managers who provide work and pay for it fairly, the question of whether or not railroad division chiefs are needed will remain. All of our work is financed based on how fast the wheels turn. If they are rolling well and not just idly spinning we shall earn money and be fed.

Now everybody wants to blame the next person: the track workers want to blame the traffic controllers; the traffic controllers, the car managers, and so forth. But the money is for all of them. It is as though it is in the pockets of the same jacket: No matter how many times you move it from one to another, you will end up with the same amount. And in order for everyone to receive more, there must be more in the jacket.

[Gitkovich] Nigmatzhan Kabatayevich, you know that the sizes of the shipments most frequently do not depend on the division.

[Isingarin] I agree. But this is true as long as the divisions are small. And in order for them to have an effect on this indicator, it will probably be necessary to make them much larger, which, incidentally, is true of the railroads

as well. The mainline should be such that 60-70 percent of the work is performed within it. Then the work will be stable.

The railroad division and the units within it will have to do a lot of thinking about economic accountability. I emphasize: not economic accountability of the enterprise, but economic accountability within the production association, which the division is. Economic accountability should pervade its entire essence.

[Gitkovich] You have said a lot about the need to increase the activity of the leaders and the independence of their decisions and to devote more attention to economic activity. It is generally known that rail transportation operates under the most difficult conditions and is subject to criticism. Do you think that the situation can be fully rectified with the measures that have been discussed?

[Isingarin] In my opinion, no. The railroad workers can do a great deal through their own efforts, but it is impossible for them to raise the work of transportation to the level required for complete satisfaction of the demands of the national economy and the passengers. With the shortage of passenger cars and electric rolling stock and with this kind of wear and tear and obsolescence—to the point of high-class service? There is a catastrophic shortage of cargo cars, locomotives, rails, ties, machines, and mechanisms.

Without a decisive amount of assistance from the government we shall not receive from industry the require fulfillment of deliveries of everything that is needed. And without this, rail transportation will increasingly lag behind the requirements of life. The cargo and passenger rates which are extremely low, lower than anywhere else in the world, devalue the transportation itself as well as the labor of the people who work there. Will there be any respect for labor which costs almost nothing?

It is no accident that today railroad workers everywhere are demanding a more worthy evaluation of their labor. Railroad workers and rail transportation deserve a more attentive attitude toward their problems. And this is in the interests of all Soviet people.

Kirghiz Paper Carries Ligachev Interview

LD0610135589 Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 17 Sep 89 p 1

[KIRTAG report on interview with Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, by E.M. Abdukarimov, deputy chairman of the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting: "To Strengthen Our Unity": place, date not specified]

[Text] Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, granted an interview to Kirghiz Television while in Kirghizia. The interview was conducted by E.M. Abdukarimov, deputy chairman of the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting.

The text of the interview is published below.

[Abdukarimov] Yegor Kuzmich, the seminar-conference on questions of raising the efficiency of the agro-industrial complex was held over the course of 2 days in Kirghizia. How do you assess its results?

[Ligachev] We have been holding conference-seminars of this kind in many zones of our country, particularly since the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum. To judge from the participants' comments, they are of great benefit. Indeed, it is hard to overestimate the force of a positive example. I believe that such seminars constitute intense joint work, which produces a big return.

We have now examined problems of developing the agrarian sector in the region of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. Approximately 45-46 million people live on this territory, and a very great agro-industrial potential has been created here. It has at its disposal approximately 8 million hectares of irrigated land and natural and climatic conditions conducive to the cultivation of many crops. Tens of billions of rubles have been invested here in capital investments, and there are huge labor resources here. Large party organizations and well-known production and scientific collectives work in the region. Full use has not been made of the potential, and there is everything for still better work.

We chose Kirghizia as the venue for the seminar, although I wish to say at once that there are things to learn in the other republics, too. But I must say that the fruitful work of the Kirghiz party organization and the republic's working people has brought us here not without purpose—there is much of value here. It was no coincidence that many participants pointed out that the intensification of agricultural production is being tackled here very actively, not in words but in deeds. Examples of this are the high milk yields and the quite high yields per hectare, while in corn cultivation—I have already emphasized this and wish to say it once again—you have reached the U.S. level. Kirghizia is considerably ahead of other republics with regard to many indicators associated with agricultural intensification. In addition—everyone pointed this out, and I believe so too—the leadership of the republic party organization and everyone who has a bearing on the agrarian complex combine the resolution of production questions with social questions. And this is being done not in words but in deeds.

Above all, from my viewpoint, the republic leadership has acted correctly by examining the structure of all outlay and investments in the agro-industrial complex and considerably increasing capital investments in the construction of housing and the whole sociocultural complex. In short, everything connected with improving people's working conditions. This is extremely valuable.

We have met many interesting, remarkable people here, farm leaders, specialists, Communists, and nonparty people. We have had very many memorable meetings, including meetings with young people. We have relived our young years, as it were, and been gladdened that such splendid young people are growing up in your republic. This naturally inspires confidence that things will continue going better for you.

We have been impressed with nature in Kirghizia. It is captivating. On recalling all this—the remarkable people and wonderful nature—you understand better why such talented people as Chingiz Torekulovich Aytmatov are born right here.

[Abdukarimov] Out of everything you have seen here is there any experience worthy of being disseminated in the country?

[Ligachev] There undoubtedly is. The most important and chief thing is to strive for the greatest return on the production and intellectual potential that has been created. This is, in fact, the policy of economic efficiency. Incidentally, there is quite a lot of talk in the Central Asian region to the effect that there is a shortage of irrigated land. This really is so. Whereas there is approximately 0.8 hectares of agricultural land per person in the country, here there is 0.24 hectares. And yet land, after all, is the basis of all food production. It creates the fruits which people enjoy by using their labor, equipment, mind, and science. And the chief thing is to make good and full use of this wealth. People in Kirghizia know how to do this. Here they have learned how to use every hectare, every hundredth of a hectare of land. This is of fundamentall significance. If we could increase land use in all the other republics in your region to the same level in the very near future, it would be possible to increase grain and corn production by 50 percent there and meat and milk production by approximately 40 percent. You will agree that this is quite a substantial increase.

[Abdukarimov] Very many representatives of different nationalities and ethnic groups live in our republic. And they are all concerned at the exacerbation of interethnic relations today. What practical steps, in your view, can party organizations take to influence a lowering of tension in interethnic relations, and what must be done first of all today?

[Ligachev] I am not one of those people who try, in connection with the well-known events now taking place in various parts of the country, to cancel out the party's nationalities policy. For arguing like this means going against the truth. History attests that even at the time of the Great Patriotic War, when a very great danger hung over our motherland, the peoples were able to unite in a single whole and crush the enemy.

The peoples of many nationalities within the Soviet Federation have resolved extremely difficult and complex tasks of building socialism, developing our society, and improving the material and spiritual life of people. But interethnic relations really have been exacerbated recently. This cannot be attributed to some single factor, and it is impossible to give an unequivocal answer to these questions. There are both past mistakes and present miscalculations. But I would single out the following among the many factors which have occasioned such an acute development of interethnic relations in a number of parts of the country. From my viewpoint, recently we have thoroughly relaxed the struggle against all sorts of nationalist and separatist aspirations. But historical experience shows that when attention to a particular problem is relaxed, it does not disappear but, on the contrary, comes to the fore and is sometimes exacerbated in the extreme.

How are we to emerge from this situation? I believe that the answer to this question will be provided by the CPSU Central Committee plenum which will meet literally in a few days' time. I am convinced that we must strengthen the party very thoroughly, for only on this basis can we resolve all the main problems, including national ones. The party's role is unusually great in our country, where so many republics and peoples have united in a single union. I would say more: Without a strong Communist Party, strong by virtue of its unity, it is simply impossible to create such a union and to develop and strengthen it.

Ours is a multinational state. And the Communist Party takes the interests of all nations most fully into account and rallies them. So we must spare no effort to preserve the unity of its ranks and strengthen party discipline. Here, of course, it is impermissible to tighten screws, as the saying goes. We take the all-possible development of internal party democracy as the basis, but at the same time we must not forget the sense of responsibility and strict observance of the requirements of our party's statutes.

[Abdukarimov] Thank you, Yegor Kuzmich. We consider that the situation in our republic as a whole is normal, and we live harmoniously. But different opinions are appearing now in connection with the active discussion of the draft Law on the State Language. While establishing Kirghiz as the state language, at the same time our draft is aimed at the all-possible development of Russian and the languages of all the peoples inhabiting our republic—that is, it does not presuppose an infringement of the interests of every nation and ethnic group. Do you agree with such an approach?

[Ligachev] I believe that Kirghiz comrades are resolving this question along the lines of Lenin's nationalities policy. We favor a respectful attitude toward all languages and the full flowering of the languages of the Kirghiz, Russian, and other peoples living in the republic. History has so ordered things that in our country Russian has become the means of communication among all the peoples inhabiting the Soviet Union. I believe that only in this way can we rally Soviet people of different nationalities and successfully resolve national, economic, social, ideological, cadre, and other

questions. I have read your draft law and believe that this is a sensible basis for resolving many questions of our life.

[Abdukarimov] Thank you. This ends our questions. I would like to wish you great success in your very difficult work and health and happiness.

[Ligachev] Thank you, too, for affording me an opportunity to speak with all inhabitants of Kirghizia. I in turn wish to convey best wishes to the republic's Communists and all working people on behalf of the party's Central Committee and to express confidence that we will rejoice many more times together with you at the splendid work that you are doing here. I would like to wish all citizens living in Kirghizia health, well-being, and family happiness.

Ryzhkov 'Political Portrait' Issued

18001622 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Sep 89 p 10

[Article by Yu. Izyumov: "Concerns of the Head of Government"; first three paragraphs are LITERATURNAYA GAZETA introduction]

[Text] The editorial office receives many letters in which readers ask that articles on the life and activities of our country's state and party leaders be published more frequently.

Such interest is quite understandable: In this period of revolutionary changes, the role of every leader is quite significant. Their positions, their attitude toward particular issues determine a great deal in the life of our society, and in our personal future as well.

The article published below opens a series planned by the editorial office.

In mid-May, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov invited leaders of the central press to discuss the issues of transition to territorial economic accountability. The conversation turned out to be interesting and lively, and took the form of a dialogue, ranging far beyond the confines of the topic envisaged. When saying good-bye, the editors asked that the tradition of such conversations be continued.

"I am interested in this myself. I think we should have another meeting right after the session," Nikolay Ivanovich said, adding with a smile: "The deputies will decide who the meeting is going to include."

Did he have doubts then about the Supreme Soviet giving him the mandate as head of government again? Hardly, although he certainly has his share of opponents and ill-wishers among a certain segment of deputies; we saw that. However, we also saw that there was no better candidate for the top government post in our country.

The biography of N.I. Ryzhkov is well known; ARGUMENTY I FAKTY recently carried an extensive interview with him.

Perestroyka has weaned us from treating the leaders of the country with the almost religious adoration which was once the norm.

Let us try to look at Nikolay Ivanovich without rapture.

I believe that being a member of the generation of "the people of the sixties," the people formed under the influence of the 20th CPSU Congress, the generation now holding key positions in our society, was the determining factor for his personality. He and M.S. Gorbachev are peers, like-minded people, and comrades-in-arms of perestroyka.

Many of our readers still remember G.M. Malenkov, N.A. Bulganin, and A.N. Kosygin in the capacity of heads of government. While they differed greatly and left different marks on history, they nonetheless had certain general traits as head of government of the greatest state of the world. As a rule they were distinguished by reserved behavior, deliberate judgments, sober evaluations, and caution in making promises.

There is no work harder than that of head of government, and not because of its intensity or tremendous work loads, although all of that is a factor. The exorbitant burden of responsibility for everything that happens in our country and to our country rests on his shoulders all the time, day and night, at work and at rest. Essentially there is not an issue in our ever more complex existence at present which the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers could not say is within his jurisdiction. As I understand him, Nikolay Ivanovich is one of those people who are the first to put their shoulder to the common load and carry it all the way without shifting their part of the load to anyone, no matter how difficult or painful it becomes.

Nikolay Ivanovich is a typical technocrat; the entire path of his life until 5 years ago went through production. He hardly felt right away that he was in his element—incidentally, just as many other technocrats with a similar fate—when he was transplanted from economic work to the very apex of political work, to the CPSU Central Committee, in which he headed the Economic Department as a secretary. However, we do not train politicians in our country. Is it surprising, therefore, that Central Committee departments took over for ministries and offices? At various meetings I have happened to listen many times to speeches by the heads of departments and Central Committee secretaries which were devoted in their entirety to economic issues and frequently included literally not a word about party work and the role of party organizations in solving these problems.

Over many decades we have become accustomed to every leader arriving in Moscow gathering around him a more or less extensive group of people from down home,

Under Khrushchev, and especially under Brezhnev, most high positions were held by people with whom they used to work in the Ukraine and in other republics, served in the army, or to whom they were related. At Brezhnev's funeral, three buses were needed for his relatives employed in Moscow and their families alone....

N.I. Ryzhkov arrived at the Central Committee within a large group of party and economic leaders from the oblasts of Siberia and the Urals drafted by Yu.V. Andropov to replace the corrupt Brezhnev "team," which had compromised itself, the party, and the country. B.N. Yeltsin and Ye.K. Ligachev were members of this group too.

How many people from the Urals and Siberia are there in the new government? It is impossible to make such a calculation, but if we take top positions only, no signs are apparent of this cabinet having been formed on the principle of geographical affiliation, unlike the previous ones. The cabinet has become much more representative.

As many other native Muscovites who were offended for years by the attitude of "the top" toward the capital city cadres, I was pleased to see in the composition of the government many of those who grew up and were formed as persons in Moscow and Leningrad, our new and old capitals. After all, these people bring to the government the overall and production culture of the capital city and connections with the pick of intellectuals. By all signs, Nikolay Ivanovich does not suffer from "the complex of a provincial resident," permeated by active ill will toward those who are well bred, well read, and educated.

The American Sovietologist S. Cohen, who is popular in our country and for whom it is naturally easier to provide "unfettered" assessments for us, believes that there are four parties in the USSR rather than one. All of them exist within the CPSU, subscribing to views ranging from extremely radical to extremely conservative.

In which party is Nikolay Ivanovich to be placed?

According to the Cohen classification, in the moderate party. However, we can look at another analog, at the political system of Great Britain, where politically quite radical Laborites have ruined the economy, and the conservatives, their conservatism which is unsavory to us notwithstanding, restored it, and within a very short period of time compared to our perestroyka. On this scale, I would term N.I. Ryzhkov a conservative; however, as of now, this is too scary and sticky a label.

Now is the time of radicals in our country, and there are a good many destroyers. Everything that has been created over decades has been destroyed, if not completely then close to it. Let us be frank—a good deal of what deserves to be destroyed existed and still exists. However, the country and our society cannot exist in the form of debris. A sorry future awaits us if the process of destruction in the economy, politics, and ideology will keep running ahead of creation with the same tremendous gap. We should not complain about the pace of the former; we need an abrupt dash in the latter, realizing in the process that returning to the old ways will no longer help us.

Life has injected complete clarity into the debate on what is more significant for perestroyka—economics or politics. After all, if the store shelves were full at present, much of what is shaking our society now could be avoided.

In our country, with which nobody has been able to do anything for a long time, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov appears to me to be one of the people in the contemporary leadership who have a creative concept and a specific plan for leading the country out of the economic crisis, although it is not too spectacular as far as the public is concerned.

Even at the first meeting in May, he said that the country will not survive without territorial economic accountability down to every rayon. However, he understands that it is practically impossible to work out ideal models of it right away; certainly, life will make corrections even in what appears to be the most carefully developed design. However, we cannot wait any longer; we need to "enter" the next 5-year plan with a clearly formulated economic accountability concept.

I repeat that this was said in May.

We had to wait for the next meeting for 3 months, within which the stormy Congress of People's Deputies and the seemingly endless session of the Supreme Soviet occurred. This was the session during which, in the words of the French newspaper LIBERATION, "N.I. Ryzhkov appeared as a genuine, powerful head of government who has the confidence of the parliament."

This time Nikolay Ivanovich looked tired, and the expression of his face at times resembled the one we saw in December TV reports from Armenia, which had been devastated by the earthquake. There was a conspicuously greater streak of grey in his hair. When he was told so, he said:

"Except for the war, these 3 months have been the most complicated time in the life of our country. I have also experienced a great deal personally. The government will not be able to work unless we draw the most serious conclusion from everything that has happened. It is high time to stop repeating the words about 'the sharp turnaround' which pall on us while doing nothing to make it actually happen.

"At present, in the 72d year of the Soviet state, we are creating a completely new mechanism for governing the country. The old one is good for nothing. It was based on the duality of the Central Committee and the government, and there was no room for the Supreme Soviet in it. This will not do anymore; the Congress of People's

Deputies and the Supreme Soviet have immediately become a real political force. Look how the political maturity of our society has increased!... How can we conduct business the old way under these circumstances?"

How is the system of management to be restructured? N.I. Ryzhkov believes it should be done only on the basis of a well-developed system of laws. It is exactly their absence that makes everything in our country, beginning with its future and through an elementary economic or political problem, dependent on the subjective factor to such a degree. In a rule-of-law state, this would be impossible.

N.I. Ryzhkov sees several causes of the crisis in the economy. Poorly considered consequences of a massive transition to economic accountability, the adoption of the imperfect Law on the Socialist [as published] Enterprise and the even more imperfect Law on Cooperatives are among the most significant ones. The latter law gave the operators of the "shadow economy" and other criminal elements who rushed into cooperatives such a "legal" opportunity to get rich fast as they had not even dreamed about before. As a result, as early as 1988 the population's incomes (understandably, this is hardly about those who scrape by with difficulty on guaranteed wages) increased by R40 billion, whereas merchandise sales only by R23 billion. The increase of 23 billion is enormous by the old standards, but this time it almost went by unnoticed. The discrepancy was particularly evident in grocery stores. Even according to official statistics, the production of foodstuffs in 1987 and 1988 "did not increase." Actually it dropped, and if we take into account the growth of the population, progressively smaller quantities of foodstuffs are available per long-suffering inhabitant. On top of that, "the vodka money" began to be retained by the people...

We could go on enumerating our economic troubles, but why? They are commonly known, they hit close to home for all of us. Suffice it to look at the endless shortages! The episode with the disappearance of soap, toothpaste, and detergents cannot be called anything but a failure on the part of the government.

N.I. Ryzhkov is not a person who is prepared to complain about darkness for years instead of trying to light at least one candle.

Where does he see a way for getting out of the dead end?

First, as has already been mentioned, in the comprehensive introduction of territorial economic accountability, down to the rayon level. In his opinion, this is very important from the political point of view as well. If people everywhere finally understand that they must take care of everything for themselves on their own (speaking in general terms, of course) this will be a tremendous victory over parasitical attitudes which have permeated all the pores of society, and have been powerfully corroding it for many years. In Moscow, on one of the houses not far from Pushkin Square, an inscription made immediately after the revolution has survived: "All our hope is for the people who feed themselves." It is a great pity that this simple truth has been ignored for so long!

At present, given the strengthening of centrifugal forces characteristic of the current situation, the largest basic enterprises should remain subordinated to the union and remain the property of the entire people. These very enterprises with their large detachments of the working class are called upon to play the role of an economic framework of the state which, as is known, is the strongest. In turn, proposals to distribute everything among the republics, including mineral wealth, and to sever unified systems of transportation and power supply bring about further destabilization, and not only economic but also political. Apart from everything else, such practices would run counter to the general world trend toward increasingly greater integration, which is particularly pronounced in the European Economic Community. The reinforcement of integration is an irreversible process; trying to oppose it means dragging the country into the past.

A unified financial system is equally important for reinforcing our statehood. The introduction of republic currencies may only undermine it no matter how many times the incantation "strong republics mean a strong center" is repeated.

During our meetings, complaints were repeatedly voiced about the government weakening the power of the center, which was particularly pronounced at the difficult moments of aggravation in interethnic relations. It followed from the answers that the chairman of the Council of Ministers himself understands full well the need to reinforce it.

However, he also saw complications along this path. One of them is in the antagonism between the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers which was markedly visible at the session of the former. In principle, this is normal; such is the nature of mutual relations between the legislative and executive authorities in general. It is important, however, for the dialectics of such mutual relations to ultimately lead to the steadfast reinforcement of the state foundation. Otherwise, even the best resolutions of the legislators will just remain on paper, as has happened many times before. After all, given the current most complex situation, a weak government without authority will not be in a position to do something radical and to overcome the resistance of those for whom perestroyka sticks in the craw. I believe it is good for all of us that a greater trust has been established between the main segment of the deputies and the cabinet as a result of the session. This makes the head of the cabinet more optimistic.

Let us ponder the following in view of this. It has so emerged over decades that in our country the Central Committee embodies and exercises central political power, whereas the Council of Ministers merely carries

out its decisions. Out of the entire cabinet, only those who are Politburo members participate in making these decisions. At present, the situation has to change: soviet organs must assume increasingly greater responsibilities. However, "has to change" does not mean that it actually has. The soviet organs are not yet up to overcoming the pressure of the authority of party leaders from republics on down to rayons. The initial stereotypes are too strong. In locations where the party committees have hastened to get rid of the burden of full power and responsibility, a vacuum has formed since the soviets of the old term are not in a position to assume power.

The same is happening in the center. The protracted inactivity of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the government, and various law enforcement organs has profoundly exacerbated the situation in the hotbeds of interethnic conflicts. It appears that in keeping with the old habits, they do not consider swift and vigorous involvement in such cases to be their duty and wait for what the Central Committee has to say. After all, had resolute and timely measures been taken right after the tension in Nagorno-Karabakh emerged, the nationalist fire which later swept other republics as well would not have erupted with such strength.

The head of government attaches great hopes to the next year, preparations for which are proceeding very vigorously.

"I do not want to call it either the year of a turnaround or anything else, we have already had enough of these names. I want it to become a really constructive one, and give the country and the people at least some peace. Filling up the stores and developing the social and service sphere have been firmly set as priorities. The funds for everything else are going to be allocated only on the residual principle. The situation in construction will change profoundly. We are doing everything so that the builders will chase clients rather than the other way around."

May it be so!

"A great amount of surplus funds held by the populace is a very powerful influence in destabilizing the market. However, to my mind, they needlessly scare people with the R300 billion in savings banks. This is a typical manifestation of the "poverty complex" instilled in all of us. Let us make the simplest of calculations and we will see that per capita we have only slightly more than R1,000. By the standards of developed countries, this is only pennies! Even the 70 to 80 billion of "hot" money which people constantly have on hand and which cause the greatest tension in the market are essentially also normal in a country that large. They are not the problem: the shortage of merchandise is."

Nonetheless, the Council of Ministers has already found and will soon begin to implement a number of measures in order to remove these billions from the market.

Previously they have resorted to a monetary reform or exchange of money in such cases. Nikolay Ivanovich is categorically against this measure, believing that its advantages by no means compensate for the destructive consequences of such shocks to the economy.

I believe there will not be a reform.

Something else will happen. For example, increases in the rate of interest on long-range deposits, "reverse credit" whereby people will first pay money for the goods which are most hard-to-get (such as cars and household appliances) and will receive the goods as they are produced, but with the certainty that they will obtain the goods without exasperating waits in lines and speculation.

Thus far, the measures taken with a view to increasing the output of consumer goods have resulted in an increase of 8 percent in merchandise sales. Unfortunately the share of foodstuffs within this is not high, only 2.5 percent. At least 5 percent is necessary for people to feel some improvement. At present this is the most serious issue for the Council of Ministers.

Sad as it is, thus far we have had to resort to the administrative-and-command methods, which are anathema, in ensuring the growth of the merchandise mass. For now economic arrangements are not much help. Drastic quotas have been set for branches; some were obligated to increase the production of market goods by 30 to 35 percent. Three hundred military plants are switching to the products all of us need. Investment in construction is being reduced. It has been resolved to suspend all construction projects without which we can do for now.

Yet another array of measures aimed at stabilizing the economy is envisaged.

Nikolay Ivanovich did not take his leave until the draft national economic plan for next year was ready. He is determined to accomplish a turnaround in the coming year, to arrest retrogression, and to reduce the budget deficit from R120 billion to between R60 and 70 billion. Despite even 60 to 70 billion being hard to call an achievement, this will be a firm step forward (if it comes about). Despite all the complexity and difficulties that will unavoidably accompany it, 1990 should nonetheless become a serious stage on the way toward curing the economy.

Perhaps all Russians are interested to know the attitude of N.I. Ryzhkov toward the fate of the most long-suffering of the republics constituting our union, Russia.

Nikolay Ivanovich responded: "This is also very painful for me," and did not elaborate further.

His reserved behavior and the absence of any desire to advertise himself impress many people. However, as one popular writer said, modesty is the sure way to being unknown. Essentially we knew next to nothing about the

character traits of Nikolay Ivanovich until the memorable tragic events and critical situations when the TV gave us an opportunity for this after all. Over there, he was also equable, and did not allow himself to either raise his voice or vent his emotions. We can imagine the tempest that raged inside him. And the Supreme Soviet session!

Of course, during the long years of economic and party work Nikolay Ivanovich has acquired a degree of immunity to stressful situations; one just cannot cope otherwise. However, even now there are things which provoke a sharp reaction on his part. Injustice with regard to other people is one of them. Do you remember how Nikolay Ivanovich exploded following the accusations leveled by Deputy Sobchak at V.M. Kamentsev? His appreciation for Kamentsev as an employee who had given him real support in the old composition of the government was not the only reason; the injustice was very much a factor. This is how Nikolay Ivanovich himself relates this:

"Soon after Kamentsev was appointed, after he began to form his commission, he came to me and said: I don't know what to do, there are phone calls coming in from everywhere: "Give him a job!"—his son, his son-in-law, or his nephew... I told him: Send them away. He said: I can't. Very authoritative people are calling, and I will have to work with them. I told him then: Do not hire a single one of them! If you do not listen to me you are not going to be working for me. After Sobchak's speech, I personally checked the entire composition of the apparatus of the commission—there was not a single violation! However, this came later, whereas the psychological effect was immediate..."

Another session of the USSR Supreme Soviet will open soon. What is it going to be like? Will it justify the hopes of the people, or will it exacerbate the shortcomings of the first session at which so much was said about optional topics and so little about the main points—how to multiply the wealth of the people so there would be grounds for debates about its distribution; which ideas are capable of uniting the people to advance; how to improve the decaying discipline of our society and the individual; how to again raise the consciousness of the people which has saved us in the most troubled times? The situation with consciousness is particularly bad at present, and frequent strikes are the most graphic testimony of this.

Nikolay Ivanovich said: "Of course, I understand the miners well and I wholeheartedly feel for them because I can see how difficult their situation is. I have signed decisions on meeting all of their demands. However, they will cost approximately R3 billion... Our country will not withstand another strike like that."

The above constitutes merely strokes in the political portrait of the head of our government.

I cannot but add to these strokes the words M.S. Gorbachev said about him at the first session of the new Supreme Soviet: "In Comrade Ryzhkov, we have a person, a communist, and a statesman who, at this moment of turnaround, when we in the party and in our society at large have come to need to carry out perestroyka and a renewal of socialist society, is a principled adherent of this course and holds firm, principled views. He is a convinced proponent of the policy of perestroyka and renewal of our society. Everything that has been done during these years to set these processes in motion is to a great degree associated with his personal contribution."

The personality of Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov is complex and multifaceted. A book could be written about him. Of course, a more complete narration should also mention the shortcomings of Nikolay Ivanovich and the mistakes he has managed to make, although, as they say, these are our mistakes: After all, he has grown and is growing together with us.

That which interferes with his work also definitely needs to be told.

In summation, some information strictly for reference. N.I. Ryzhkov has an office in which I.V. Stalin, N.S. Khrushchev, A.N. Kosygin, and N.A. Tikhonov worked in their time. The office has changed little since the time of Stalin. To be sure, the indefatigable reformer Khrushchev enlarged it at the expense of reducing the size of the recreation room. Otherwise, both the furniture and the decor have remained the same.

The workday of Nikolay Ivanovich in this office begins at 0820 to 0830 and ends a minimum of 12 hours later. Subsequently the workday goes on at home where he takes a good-size stack of business papers every evening.

The salary of the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers is R1,200 a month (for comparison, the salaries of prime ministers of other countries are $250,000 a year in Japan, $195,000 in the FRG, $115,000 in Great Britain, and 48,000 francs a month in France).

MVD Chief Bakatin on Growth in Youth Crime

18001597 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Sep 89 p 1

[Article by MVD chief V. Bakatin: "Why Is Juvenile Crime on the Rise?"]

[Text] The Balashikha area near Moscow was recently awakened by two powerful nighttime explosions which knocked out the windows of houses nearby. The next morning word spread that warring gangs were settling a score....

In fact this daring crime was committed by ordinary 17-year-old youths. One had just recently finished school. Another was studying at a vocational-technical school. The third was a metal worker in vehicle technical maintenance and repair shop, and the fourth was a student at the Moscow Institute of Architecture. During

the evening they got together and did not know what do do with themselves: they wanted to do such and such, and "achieve fame and glory."

So they decided to blow up a kvass container, but then changed their minds when they were attracted by a telephone booth. When they ran to see what damage their explosion had caused, police had already arrived at the scene. Proceeding farther on, the boys blew up another telephone booth. Fortunately there were no casualties this time either. They were soon arrested by police hot on their heels, and that was that, so it would seem.

Today we look with alarm upon the increase in crime and note that the perpetrators are getting younger, a factor we associate with unhappy families, unsupervised juveniles, an absence of morality, loss of ideals and the "influence of decay." Society has acquired a definite image of the youthful criminal. At first glance the Balashikha incident seems to disprove the stereotypes which have arisen. These fellows come from ordinary, quite happy families. The father of one of the perpetrators occupies a managerial position at a large plant, where the mother is a laboratory worker. The other parents are honest, conscientious people as well—workers, engineers, office employees. I am certain they never taught their children anything bad.

Who is to blame for what happened? The perpetrators themselves? Of course. And a court will determine the legal punishment for their crime. The parents? Without a doubt. The police? Certainly. It would be inappropriate to leave the police out of it, especially since one of our four "heroes" appeared on the police report of juvenile offenders as an alcohol abuser.

Perhaps the collectives in which these lads worked or attended school are to blame? Apparently this is also true—where else does a person acquire the habits of living in society according to its rules? And what about friends of the foursome who knew about their "explosive" interests? They, too, are surely at fault, because they knew and kept silent—they failed to inform the police, would not betray "one of their own," refused to become "informers," and showed loyalty to their friends. Well, things could have been handled without informing the police, but then you stop them—you do not allow your friends to break the law. Everybody around the foursome, however, showed complete indifference to them and their dangerous amusement. No one had anything to say about it. The atmosphere was replete with a peaceful indifference, selfishness, and passivity.

We are not talking about a chance occurrence here. Why? Because our words are not followed by actions. Up to 4 million juvenile delinquents whose names appear on police reports are left to their own devices. Because the number of juveniles participating in crimes over the past 5 years and not employed or attending school has increased by 50 percent. Yet, one in every three juveniles who apply for job placement at an enterprise is rejected. There are some who go to a dozen enterprises, even under direction of the commission on juvenile affairs, and all is in vain. A Leningrad youth applied to 15 enterprises—in five instances under commission direction—and was rejected every time. The public procurator's office should have become involved in facilitating the youth's job placement. And there are thousands of such examples. The lads must fill vacant positions in factories that are lagging behind. They endure hard working conditions and get low wages in collectives which are incapable of conducting training and education.

But the problem is not restricted to difficulties in effecting job placement. We see well-clothed, well-fed youths, members of the Komsomol and other public organizations who study or work, young people who show a defiant audacity with respect to society. These are strays, wayward members of healthy families and entirely healthy collectives. But this is a moral waywardness. A rupture has occurred in their social and moral ties with society and they consider themselves free of its structure and laws. Such occurrences have assumed massive proportions.

Unfortunately the "games" played by today's teenagers are becoming increasingly dangerous and are being criminally prosecuted. Here is an example from the operations report:

Some 12-year-olds in the outskirts of Gusinoozersk, in the Buryat region, attempted to steal ammunition from a military depot. These "raids" resulted in the apprehension of 25 school children.

In May of this year four pupils in the sixth to eighth grades pushed in the door of a guarded military vault in the city of Magadan and stole four mines in broad daylight.

Eighth and ninth grade pupils attacked a taxi driver in the city of Karaganda in August. Threatening him with a knife, they seized the vehicle.

One could go on and on talking about programs designed to fight crime, about the Law on Youth, and on drafting new legislation. But if we forget about our young people in so doing, it will all come to naught. We have a situation today where our teenagers move step by step from "wayward" to dangerous diversions, and from dangerous diversions to crime. So we convict them and show our indignation—yet another criminal has appeared! Where were we, why did we not see, why did we not become indignant when they were proceeding along their road to crime?

Let me say again that many young people simply have nothing to do. They have no choice in the matter. Noisy commercial "shows," video sex, groups of semi-gangsters assaulting one another—this comes about not by choice, but by necessity.

I would respond in this manner to the matter of youth activity directors seeking new forms of participation by Komsomol organizations in measures to strengthen law and order: Render assistance in getting rid of stereotypes, imitation, and adherence to fashion. Help our young people find themselves, to find freedom of choice, to discover the purpose and meaning of life in their creativity, a diverse, exclusively individual creativity which is at the same time necessary for people. If we do not take care of this, others will. They already are. The "authorities" of the crime world are advising one another to pay attention to our youth, assist and support them, refrain from antagonizing them.

It was not in a matter of minutes that our foursome turned from ordinary lads into criminals. It took more than a year for them—and us—to reach that stage. They crossed their Rubicon leaving behind cells, interrogations, confrontations, testimony, and depositions, and, of course, criminal court. Their actions are classified in accordance with the criminal code as premeditated destruction of government property and endangerment of society.

It is difficult to predict how all this will end. It would be nice if the future of these lads were not irrevocably destroyed. It would be nice if they—and all of us—understood that it is criminal, nonsensical, and stupid to waste one's life this way—spending it not for, but rather against people.

Role of New State Committee on Food Described

18240241 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 16 Sep 89 p 2

[Report of interview with Vladilen Valentinovich Nikitin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Commission for Foodstuffs and Purchases, by the editorial staff of SELSKAYA ZHIZN: "To Manage with Economic Methods"; date and occasion not specified]

[Text] **As has already been reported in the press, the cumbersome USSR Gosagroprom [State Agroindustrial Committee] has been abolished, all of the basic management elements of the APK [Agroindustrial Committee] are being restructured, and their functions are being changed. Economic management methods are to hold a dominant place in the activity of the new organs.**

Readers of SELSKAYA ZHIZN are interested in what the recently created USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Foodstuffs and Purchases represents, and what its structure and functions are like. Answers to questions of the editorial staff are given by Vladilen Valentinovich Nikitin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Commission for Foodstuffs and Purchases.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] What are the commission's tasks and goals, the main directions of its work, and its relationships with republic and economic management organs?

[Nikitin] The commission sets as its main task the provision of all possible assistance to the development of the initiative of the peasants. The conditions of their life and work must promote the achievement of maximum efficiency in all elements of production in every way possible. Legal acts that ensure various forms of property and economic relations will serve as a guarantee of the materialization of this formula. The village is waiting for laws concerning land, leasing, and leasing relationships, and other laws that support the creative labor process.

On the basis of a comprehensive analysis of the activity of the agroindustrial complex, the commission must define the strategy of its development and prepare major state programs for increasing the volume of foodstuffs. These programs will depend on the broad introduction of the achievements of scientific-technical progress and a fuller utilization of the features and capabilities of each region of the country.

An important concept in the work of the state commission is the formation of all-union food funds. These funds are needed to provide food to the population of individual republics and some major industrial centers of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], which, by virtue of peculiarities in natural and climatic conditions, are engaged in the production of specialized products. In Central Asia—it is cotton, in Georgia—tea, citrus fruit, etc. Because of this, an interrepublic exchange has developed through the formation of an all-union fund and subsidies from it.

The commission will rely on economic methods to regulate supplies for these funds. For example, the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] has come out for supplying less meat and milk to the all-union fund, although its economy specializes in the production of products of livestock farming and its level of consumption is rather high. We agreed with its request, but we simultaneously decided to reduce the supply of concentrated feed from the central state reserves to Estonian farms.

Of course, the system of contractual relations and the exchange of products directly between producers and consumers will receive greater development in the process of the change of republics, krays, and oblasts to regional cost accounting and self-financing. We will take all of this into consideration in the improvement of the mechanism for accumulating and distributing foodstuffs and raw material resources.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] The lag of the village was talked about with alarm and anguish at the first Congress of People's Deputies and the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Nikitin] There are very good grounds for this. For decades the gap in the country between the conditions of labor and life of the urban dweller and the peasant was widening, and there was poor utilization of the productive and scientific potential of industry for the resolution of the food problem and the infrastructure of the village.

Up until the present time, machine builders have been unable to supply the rural economy with the necessary mix of machines for fields and farms and processing enterprises. The quality of equipment produced for the village continues to be of low quality, even though the prices for it continuously increase. Expenditures for repairs and technical services reach R7-8 billion annually and are equal to the cost of the annually produced agricultural equipment. The increased volume of repairs is creating a big demand for spare parts, of which there is a chronic shortage.

The social problems of the village require considerably more attention. Only 20-30 percent of rural homes are hooked up to water mains, central heating, hot water supplies, and sewerage. Every two out of three villages does not have kindergartens and day nurseries.

Medical service in the village is incomparably worse than that in the city. Almost 40 percent of the towns and villages do not have stores. The average per capita income in the town is half that of the city.

The commission will work on the creation of comfort in rural life. National interests and the future of the country require the development of integrating processes between rural economies and industry and the formation of economic relations between them.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] And what about price parity?

[Nikitin] As is well-known, it has been violated over the course of many years and continues to be violated today. Price formation and the financial-credit system do not induce farms and enterprises to search for a more effective resolution and to produce products with the least expenditures of labor, means, and material resources. There is a profound differentiation of farms in the country according to the level of economy. Annually, three-quarters of the profits are concentrated in one-fourth of the sovkhozes [state farms] and kolkhozes [collective farms]. At the same time, more than half of the farms are burdened with excessive debt.

In 1988 in the system of the former USSR Agroprom, 5 percent of the enterprises and organizations were unprofitable, and more than a third of the farms had a profitability of up to 15 percent. Credit investments in long-term and short-term bank loans reached almost R200 billion, and more than one-third of the debt is hopeless and deferred.

Agriculture is the most credit-supported branch in the national economy. The share of long-term credits in the value of the main production funds in the rural economy is almost 20 percent. But in industry and other branches of the national economy, it is 2.5 percent.

The commission is obliged to establish a mechanism for regulating the equivalence of interbranch exchanges and the parity of prices for products of the agricultural economy and the material-technical resources that it is supplied. The USSR People's Deputies rightfully require that the government and central economic organs do not permit an infringement of the interests of the kolkhozes, the sovkhozes, and tenants. The commission of the Council of Ministers will steadfastly implement the realization of this instruction.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] Prices are important but not the only element in the economic organism. There are investments and other levers. What is the role of the commission in this?

[Nikitin] Prices and investments are closely linked; therefore, a very important function of the commission is the development of investment policy. Quite a lot is already being done to change the structure and the direction of investments. Priority is being given to the processing branches, the social sphere, road construction, and gas supplies. There is an increase in the importance of investments in the active part of the fund and in the mechanization and automation of the production processes in the structure of investments that are directed at broadening production in the agricultural economy. Here it is important to eliminate the defects that were allowed in recent years: Some farms have excellent livestock facilities, but there is no social life for the people, and in others, it is the other way around. The work collectives that earn the money should and will make the final decisions.

The order of investments in land reclamation is being changed. While previously the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources performed as a customer and a contractor, expending funds allocated by the state without controls, now the USSR Minvodstroy [Ministry of Water Resources and Construction] has become a contracting organization. The sovkhozes and kolkhozes will order and finance reclamation work.

It is necessary for the commission to pay a lot of attention to an entire complex of questions on the improvement of economic methods of management. Provision should be made for the mutual coordination of economic levers and incentives—purchase prices, rental payments to the budget, special purpose financing from centralized resources, and taxation ; that is, to ensure an equalization of economic conditions of management and the development of the infrastructure of the village, the creation of incentives for the development of all farms on the principles of full economic accountability and self-financing, and also the most rational disposition of economic production. We will seek new approaches to planning, financing, and material-technical support, and to creating conditions for a comprehensive transition to contractual relations.

Many other functions have been levied on the state commission. A lot of attention will be given to the scientific support of the agroindustrial complex, and all that is new and advanced in the practice of agroindustrial production should be realized through institutes and scientific production systems. The commission will develop scientific-technical and economic cooperation in the area of APK with foreign countries, and it will promote the creation of joint enterprises. We believe that major steps are needed that ensure the training of specialists and increases in their qualifications.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] Would you please describe the structure of the State Commission for Foodstuffs and Purchases.

[Nikitin] The management of the commission consists of the chairman and six of his deputies. The central place in its structure is occupied by departments of economic analysis and interbranch proportions, perfection of the economic mechanism and price regulation, investments and social developments, prospective development of the food and processing industry, prospective development of agriculture and forestry, and a department of scientific and technical progress. In addition, the Main Administration of State Food Resources, Main Scientific and Technical Administration, Main Administration of State Inspections, Main Veterinary Administration, Main Scientific Production Administration of the Biological Industry (manufacture of veterinary biologicals), Main Scientific Drafting Administration for Construction, Main Administration for Foreign Economic Relations, Main Administration for Higher Educational Institutions, and certain other subdivisions will function under the state commission. I must say that this is not a firm construction of the commission. Its structure will change depending on problems that arise and the instructions of the government.

The commission will rely in its activity on the scientific potential of VASKhNiL [V.I. Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences], and it will cooperate closely with the union soviets of kolkhozes, USSR Minvodstroy, USSR Minrybkhoz [Ministry of Fish Industry], USSR Goskomles [State Committee for Forestry], and Tsentrosoyuz [USSR Central Union of Consumer Societies].

The staff of the commission, in addition to the chairman, his deputies, and managers of the aforementioned ministries and departments, includes representatives of the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee], USSR Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply], USSR Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics], USSR Agroprombank [Agroindustrial Bank], and other organizations.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] Please give us more details about individual elements of the commission. The readers would also be interested in knowing about you and your deputies.

[Nikitin] A block of economic departments will be an important element of the commission. I have already mentioned them. We are selecting here the most qualified specialists who have enough research experience and practical work. Here it is important to link theory closely and usefully with practical requirements, to put a decisive end to dogma, and to move the restructuring processes in the APK boldly.

One of the central elements of the commission is the Main Administration of State Food Resources. The question concerns the timely and reliable formation of an all-union fund, interrepublic supplies of food commodities, and the accumulation and replenishment of reserves. In order to manage this matter efficiently, it is necessary to engage in planning and forecasting, to control the progress of production, to ensure the full quality of products, to look into new technologies, and to propagandize and ensure their introduction. On the whole, the work here will be multifaceted.

The Main Scientific-Technical Administration will be responsible for technical progress in all branches of the agroindustrial complex. The sphere of its activity is immense, and the responsibility is great. Orders will have to be put in for the newest machines and equipment that must be efficient and easy to operate and that will ensure production that does not emit wastes and does not damage the environment. This means that the specialists of a given main administration must be experts in their profession, quickly picking up all that is new and advanced that appears in world science and technology. They will work continuously with all machine-building ministries and with hundreds of design bureaus and plants.

Briefly, whatever element of the state commission we take, each of them is confronted with specific tasks that arise through the renewal of all spheres of activity of rural workers.

What can be said about the deputies? Comrade Vyacheslav Ivanovich Chernoivanov, is the first deputy, and he is responsible for coordinating questions of the commission. He is 51 years old, he is an engineer, a doctor of technical sciences, and a corresponding member of VASKhNiL. He worked for a long time in science, in GOSNITI [Technological Research Institute for the Repair and Operation of Machine Tractors], in VNPO [All-Union Scientific Production Association] "Remdetal," and in the years 1983-1985, he was deputy chairman of "Soyuzselkhoztekhnika" [Union Agricultural Technology], and afterwards deputy chairman of USSR Gosagroprom [State Agroindustrial Committee].

Another first deputy—he heads the Main Administration of State Food Resources—is Comrade Mikhail Lukich Timoshishin. He is 52 years old, he graduated from the Odessa Technological Institute, he is an engineer-technologist by specialty , and he is a candidate of economic sciences. He has behind him work in the Ministry of Procurement of the Belorussian SSR in the position of chief engineer of a number of milling combines. Afterwards, he worked for 10 years on the staff of

the Minzag [Ministry of Procurement] of Belorussia, and starting in 1978 he worked in a ministry with the same name in Moscow. Of late, he is the first deputy minister of the USSR Ministry of Grain Products [previously called the Ministry of Procurement].

Comrade Bolyus Ignovich Poshkus heads a group of economic subdivisions. Born in 1930, he is a doctor of economic sciences, a professor, and an academician at VASKhNiL. He was a junior researcher in the Institute of Economics of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences, in the years 1959-1966 he was the deputy chief of a department of the USSR Gosplan, and afterwards he was the director of the Institute of Agricultural Economics of the Lithuanian SSR Gosagroprom.

The main scientific-technical administration has been entrusted to the management of Nikolay Vasilevich Krasnoshchekov, the deputy chairman of the state commission. He is 57 years old, an engineer-mechanic, a doctor of technical sciences, and an academician at VASKhNiL. He went the route from engineer of an MTS [Machine Tractor Station] and a sovkhoz to the director of an OKB [Special Design Bureau] and deputy director of the Siberian Agricultural Research Institute. In 1979-1989, he was the first deputy chairman of the Siberian section of VASKhNiL, and afterwards the chief director of the NPO [Scientific Production Association] "Podmoskovye."

The foreign economic service will be headed by Comrade Yuriy Alekseyevich Borisov. He was born in 1932 and is an engineer-mechanic. He worked as an MTS engineer, the chairman of a kolkhoz, and also in other agricultural organizations. He was the deputy adviser on economic questions in the USSR embassy in the ARE [Arab Republic of Egypt], an adviser on economic questions in the USSR Embassy in Syria, and since 1983, he has been the chairman of the "Selkhozpromeksport" [agricultural industry export] of the USSR MVES [Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations].

I can say about myself that I am 53 years old. I graduated from the Omsk Agricultural Institute, and I am an engineer-mechanic. I worked as an engineer on a training farm, in a trust of sovkhozes, the director of a sovkhoz, chief engineer, chief of a rayon agricultural production administration, chairman of a rayispolkom [rayon soviet executive committee], first secretary of a raykom [rayon party committee], chief of an oblast agricultural administration, and chairman of the Tyumen oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee]. In 1985, I was appointed minister of agriculture of the RSFSR, and afterwards, the first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Gosagroprom.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] What first steps has the commission already taken?

[Nikitin] One must keep in mind that the commission has only been functioning for the second month, and that its staff is being formed. Its attention was concentrated on drawing up a draft state order for 1990. We tried to achieve a maximum balancing with capital investments and material-technical resources. I cannot say that this has been finalized. But I believe that the government, under conditions of the need for financial improvement of the country, has done quite a lot to ensure a level for the APK that is indicated in the 5-year plan.

The commission took part in the development of draft laws concerning land use and property in preparation for changes in the Law on Cooperatives. The government submitted the drafts for review by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

For the purpose of stimulating the growth of production and sale to the state of high quality grain and seeds of oil-bearing crops in accordance with the resolution of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, a corresponding resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers was prepared. It has been published in the press.

According to the assessment of specialists, in the first year of the experiment farms can earn R400-700 million in foreign exchange. What and where can they buy for hard currency? For this, we are organizing an exhibit-sale at the VDNKh [Achievements of the National Economy Exhibition] of foreign machines and equipment to which organizations and firms of many socialist and capitalist firms are being invited. A meeting has already been held with with representatives of foreign countries where specific questions about this measure were discussed. Searches have begun for approaches to the realization of measures, about whose necessity we spoke earlier.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] A departure from the command method of management is occurring. And this is a correct policy. But what happens if the machine builders do not fulfill the decision of the party and the government for the re-equipping of the food branches with new equipment and floor areas are not readied in time for the purchased imported complete production lines for the processing industry?

[Nikitin] This is a very important question. Seventy-seven billion rubles have been provided for reconstruction in the food sphere. Machine-building enterprises of the civilian and defense branches for the time being are dragging out the development and output of new machines and equipment, and they are asking extremely high prices.

Some republics and oblasts are delaying the construction of enterprises of the food industry that are intended for the output of products for all-union consumers. What does this say? That in some places they have not yet rejected narrow departmental and local interests, that they are working by inertia, and that they are not very disturbed by the shortage of foodstuffs in stores.

Apparently, the question here should be an increase in state discipline, inasmuch as all measures for re-equipping the processing industry have been approved by the government.

You see, the soviet and economic organs of the Bashkir ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], Stavropolskiy Kray, the Brest, Lipetsk, Orlov, Omsk, and a number of other oblasts can fulfill and overfulfill programs for the development of a material-technical base of the food industry. But why are the Kalinin, Chernovtsy, and Ural oblasts, and Uzbekistan and Moldavia delaying the matter?

Under the current 5-year plan, imported equipment in the sum of R8.23 billion is being purchased, and hundreds of complete lines are being received. We are talking about lines for the production and packaging of long macaroni and quick-cooking macaroni, crackers, and breakfast cereals, lines for the preparation of margarine and making processed cheese with packing in polymer packages, hard rennin cheeses, ice cream; we are talking about equipment for meat combines, the production of rolled oats, child nourishment, and lines for the complete processing of poultry and for other enterprises of the food industry.

However, the preparatory building assembly work at the facilities, where imported equipment is to be installed, is lagging almost everywhere. At the facilities started in 1989, only 78 percent of the work has been done, and only a total of 7 percent has been completed for those to be started in 1990.

If the republics, krays, and oblasts for whom equipment has been ordered will not undertake urgent measures, we will be forced to transfer this equipment to other regions that have facilities that are ready for assembly.

We are for democratism in management and for economic methods. But we cannot permit anarchy and permissiveness in everything. We must once and for all put an end to bad management and to the senseless loss of national resources.

MVD Troops' Past, Present Roles Assessed

18001598 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Sep 89 First Edition p 4

[Report on interview with retired Major General Ilya Grigoriyevich Belikov, former deputy chief of USSR MVD Internal Security Troops' Political Administration, by Lieutenant Colonel S. Kalinayev, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent: "The Internal Security Troops: Without Prejudice or Bias"; place, date not specified]

[Text]**The number of letters to the editors requesting information about the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] troops, the current tasks with which they are faced, their history, and their combat lineage has increased sharply of late. To grant the readers' wishes, today we publish a conversation with an MVD troop veteran who reflects on their complicated "biography," filled with dramatic situations.**

It seems that quite recently, the USSR MVD internal troops were on the periphery of public attention. And then, within a fairly short period of time, they turned up in its epicenter: Nagorno-Karabakh, Sumgait, Tbilisi, Fergana... The events associated with these and other geographic names not only invoke everyone's sense of fear, but simple human pain as well. They are what put the MVD troops in the crossfire of passions and emotions. Polar opposite opinions have been formed, sometimes with extreme interpretations: Who are they, these troops, the keystone of the country's democracy and law and order, or an instrument for pressuring people's sociopolitical activity, for reprisal against those who think differently? These questions also reverberated across the country from the tribune of the Congress of People's Deputies. There was no simple answer for them, which perhaps is natural in today's inflamed and contradictory situation.

What is behind this fact? First and foremost, the complicated processes taking place in the country under conditions of broad glasnost and democratization, when not only are the healthy forces which believe in perestroyka are breathing easier, while at the same time, a murky scum of various types of extremists, nationalists, chauvinists, and simply criminal elements have risen on perestroyka's wave, having decided for themselves that their time has come.

This is on the one hand. On the other hand, as far as the MVD troops are concerned, their popularity is on the plus side, and to a great degree, the minus side can be explained as a splash of general interest in native history, the consecutive destruction of forbidden zones within it.

...My conversation with retired Major General Ilya Grigoryevich Belikov began with just such tense situations; he has given approximately 40 years to the MVD forces, and toward the end of his service, he held the post of deputy chief of the USSR MVD Internal Security Forces' Political Administration.

[Belikov] After all, what is happening now is that people read literally every day, and see on the television what for decades was kept strictly secret. I have in mind the years of lawlessness, repressions, and arbitrary rule in all lines of state and public life. And it is not as if the sinister figure of the "great leader and teacher" were alone in this. But as they say, it was very far to God, or more precisely, He was simply inaccessible, and it is no wonder that to this day, opinions can still be encountered that Stalin "didn't know" about everything, that people simply "didn't report" everything to him. But people came face to face with the executors of "someone's" criminal will, and the majority of them belonged to the department which I came to serve. And therefore, they automatically transferred the evil all around to the internal troops in particular (which in a human sense is understandable, at least on a limited level of consciousness).

Imagine the typical picture of legal proceedings in the late thirties. Before they began, the bone-crushing investigators would have extracted "open-hearted" confessions. Ulrikh would preside, Vyshinskiy would accuse, and the accused would be brought to court and guarded there by a military guard. But how can roles in this "ensemble" be compared?

Thus was formed the stereotype of the negative attitude toward the troops, which, alas, exists to this day as well.

[Kalinayev] There are more than a few fresh examples of this, when the guys with the "VV" [internal security troops] on their epaulets come not only into TV camera and lens "range" while executing their tasks, but also under the fire, without quotation marks, of the enraged crowd throwing stones at the soldiers. Late last year, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA cited the following figure: 138 officers, warrant officers, trainees, and soldiers of the internal forces were hospitalized; 7 of them were seriously wounded. Or, the recent Fergana alone. Some 161 men of the troop personnel were traumatized or wounded there, including gunshot wounds. And two, an officer and a soldier, were killed in Abkhazia, which, incidentally, we reported. This is the "dynamics," if one may call it that.

The issue of the troops' social and legal protection in general and their current role has become quite acute, and this is reflected in the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Ukase, "On the responsibilities and rights of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Internal Security Troops While Preserving Public Order," and in the recent USSR Supreme Soviet decree, "On the Decisive Intensification of the Struggle Against Crime." The latter of the two, in particular, rules for expanding the number of internal security troops for application of the necessary measures in cases of criminal elements' mass disobedience.

[Belikov] I consider these to be timely documents, absolutely correct in their essence. After all, their main thrust is based on an obvious truth, that the realization of democracy without firm legality and discipline is inconceivable. Yet it is this truth which clearly goes against the grain for some, first and foremost, the extremist elements. But such is the reality of our society and our time, when certain forces would like to perceive perestroyka and democratization to be a free-for-all and anarchy, and want to take political power into their own hands.

[Kalinayev] I understand that I am conversing with a patriot of the internal security troops who has given the service the best years of his life. As far as the present day is concerned, obviously, your assessments do not raise any doubts. But in the historical perspective... Isn't there some unwitting embellishment in your words, an aspiration to maintain the honor of the uniform at any expense?

[Belikov] I say with complete responsibility, and this is not my opinion alone, that well-trained units of internal security troops (at that time, the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs]), up to full strength, were distinguished by high mobility, iron discipline, and truly exemplary order. And I would also note that perhaps there was not a single major combat event in which the internal security forces did not participate during the 1,418-day chronicle of the Great Patriotic War.

As far as the rear services of the front are concerned, without their strength and reliability, winning is impossible, as we know. The troops guarded the most vital defense sites, where arms were forged, as well as railroad main lines and structures; they apprehended the saboteurs and terrorists who had been sent to disrupt the rear area, the fascist accomplices and hangers-on.

[Kalinayev] Judging by the letters to the editorial board, the newspaper's readers are especially interested in precisely this side of the troops' activities, hidden from outside view—the "secret," the "quiet," the "covert," call it what you will.

[Velikanov] Yes, this is a vivid, and unfortunately, poorly-known page of history. I will describe it briefly. Beginning in 1944, as the western regions of the country were being liberated from the Hitlerites, the internal security troops had to combat the nationalistic underground and its armed band formations.

And even after the victory, in the military cemeteries in the western regions of the Ukraine, Belorussia, and the Baltic republics, new graves kept appearing for several years: our soldiers were killed by bandits' bullets. At that time, it was not accepted to write or speak about this. It was felt that the "invisible front" must remain so. This, by the way, is now being manipulated by several extremist nationalistic elements (those same ones who consider 1944 to be the date of the second "occupation"—Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia). Under the guise of glasnost, they are not against rewriting events in whitewash to suit their spirit of history, and to declare the cruel, bloody struggle an error, to attribute what happened to Stalinism, and to proclaim the band members, [ayzsarge], and all sorts of "forest brotherhoods" and other fascist menials ideological fighters for "genuine freedom."

[Kalinayev] But all the same, Ilya Grigoryevich, with all due respect to the warriors and commanders, we are within our rights, we are simply obligated to speak honestly of those pages of history, which, to put it mildly, do not embellish the service lists of the internal security forces.

[Belikov] The truth is this: Neither joy, nor pain, nor the defeat of our time have passed by our forces. The steamroller of the Stalinist repressions rolled over them as well. I served in the F.E. Dzerzhinskiy division; in the beginning, I was a Red Army soldier, then a deputy political leader, and then chief of the political department, where the division commander and other senior officers had fallen.

As a component of the body of the state mechanism of repression, as the NKVD, MGB [Ministry of State Security], and the MVD were, the internal security troops were drawn into the implementation of unjust actions as well, in particular, the mass deportation of entire peoples.

I am deeply convinced, looking into the past, that two things must be precisely limited—the troops' role and fault on the whole, and each military man's responsibility as an individual.

[Kalinayev] I share your view completely. But a fact is a fact: The fate and the history of the internal security forces may be defined as heroic and tragic.

[Belikov] The forces' tragedy is a misfortune, but not their fault. The sad thing is that many decades of inveterate adventurists such as Yagoda, Yezhov, Beriya, Abakumov, and others stood over them. What ruled them like an "iron fist" was also Stalin, in whom we firmly believed, alas, a grievous but indisputable fact, and incidentally, we believed in everything sanctified by his name. It is also a fact that during the stagnation, the union Ministry of Internal Affairs was headed by the insincere, duplicitous, and criminal Shchelokov, loved and cherished by the general secretary. At least this fact speaks of the level of lies and Phariseeism of that time: The flatterers of the minister's retinue compared him with...Dzerzhinskiy.

The very fact of Churbanov's accession to them did extremely palpable damage to the troops' prestige: he embodied the worst and most amoral—corruption and protectionism, duplicity and worship of false values, facades, and preoccupation with rank.

I am speaking to you about this plainly, straightforwardly, without evasion because I am quite certain: Everything which undermines their authority can be overcome only by democratization of the life of the internal security troops and the complete truth about them.

Councils Said To Spur Local Initiative

18001588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by N. Gonchar, chaiman of the Executive Committee of the Baumanskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies, candidate of economic sciences: "Sharing Power Is Advantageous"; first two paragraphs are IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] Unfortunately, letters and issue-oriented articles by functionaries of party and soviet organs are uncommon in the editorial mailbag. Why don't they write? Is it the lack of time? Or the lack of topics? Could it be that bewilderment in the face of the complexity of our daily round and, consequently, the fear to come up to the microphone or use a more powerful rostrum, a newspaper, is a factor?

The article by the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Baumanskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies of the capital city has come to us, as they say, unsolicited. As we se it, the issues on which Nikolay Nikolayevich Gonchar reflects are current and significant; the experience in organizing local self-government which he relays will definitely be of interest to many.

At one of the meetings with the citizens of the rayon, I asked: Do you really believe that a man exists who, having sat down in the chair of executive committee chairman, is capable of abruptly changing your life for the better overnight or within half a year? The auditorium buzzed: "There is, there has got to be!" This is typical urban sociopolitical folklore: I am a small man, you are the boss, so you think. This is heard all the time: What are you going to do for us?! Very seldom does this thought come through: Let us do something for ourselves.

Bitter as this truth is, we should recognize that the command-administrative variant of socialism with its idea of "cogs" in the machine of state has spawned both complete indifference with regard to all independent activities and the habit of finding fault in everything except one's own self. This is why those are very popular today who tell the rank-and-file citizens of the rayon that they, the citizens, are all right, and they do not have to change anything about themselves and overcome their habits. Recipes for immediate well-being and happy life are, as a rule, simple and amount to skillfully exploiting human pain and weaknesses. The poorer a country is, the more the idea of equality is associated in the mass consciousness with the idea of equal distribution, and expropriation is viewed as the most effective method for achieving justice. Finding an enemy is all that remains. The enemy could be Jews or Russians, apparatchiks or cooperative members, scientists or holders of quota residence permits. If one so desires, Martians may also be placed in this group. After all, what difference does it make who is at fault as long as there is somebody at whom to point your finger and call for taking his assets from him (rather than creating—this takes too long, so just for taking the assets).

Perhaps, there is no other country which has suffered so much due to "simple" and "quick" political recipes, and now we have to solve a problem which is the direct opposite of the one we have been solving so successfully all the time. Now we have to restore the striving of the individual to be politically and socially active, we must convince him that that he may and should change quite a lot in his existence on his own.

Let me recall one thought stated at the June (1987) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee: The essence of perestroyka is in taking into account the interests of people, in leading them through these interests.

However, how can the interests of these very people be influenced? What conditions do they require? In other words: What kind of people live in the downtown of the

capital city, in Baumanskiy Rayon of Moscow? Here is the answer: These are 80,000 voters, mostly elderly and by far not affluent people (about 200,000 are employed here, but people working here live mainly in other rayons of the city). These are native Muscovites with small retirement benefits, who have spent their entire lives in communal apartments and who have already stopped hoping that one day they will be able to take a shower in their own bathroom. They have been promised changes for the better many times, and these promises have turned out hollow just as many times.

One evening, after a meeting with the voters, I was going back with an elderly woman. She asked me: "What about private schools—is this realistic?" I responded that, to my mind, there would not be private schools, but a new quality has definitely got to come about. She said: "I am a member of the old Moscow intelligentsia, and I used to be a school director. I could have made a great school, even if not private! You did not let me." All I could do was to exclaim in surprise: "Me?!" She specified: "Well, all of 'you'," and added bitterly: "There are a good many unaccomplished lives, such as mine. Are these the incidents of history?"

When a person believes that his own life and fate have not worked out through the fault of the authorities, it is extremely difficult to persuade him that he still has a chance! People first of all expect changes in their everyday life. There are no changes, or they are for the worse. However, the main and the most intolerable point is that our citizen has not felt a change in his social status. There are no changes even on the issues in which they could be easily made (on the surface). Incidentally, the issues which appear easy to solve (e.g., cleanliness of the stairwells or caddish salespeople in the stores) are actually the most difficult ones, because they concern "just" the general cultural level. Irritation and malice mount. We need to immediately transform the impatience which is dangerous for society into work, and thus grow the layer of culture day after day, year after year, in the absence of which we may again become hostages to the crudest social instincts. We need to, but how?

Could it be that a way to solve this problem is found in the fundamental principles set forth during the creation of the soviets? Let us recall, say, the long-forgotten statement on the soviets, which are simultaneously representative organs of power and mass organizations of the populace, having to organically combine the elements of statehood and self-government. Having discussed many variants, we have arrived at the only one—councils of social self-government.

A year ago, it was resolved at a plenum of the CPSU rayon committee to set up organs of social self-government in every microrayon (this is approximately 10,000 to 12,000 inhabitants) and give them real powers to solve the most acute everyday problems right away. Unlike Brateyevo, where self-government emerged on the initiative "from below," in our case it came "from the top." We could not but be aware of the skeptical attitude of people toward yet another endeavor of the bosses. It was clear that the councils of social self-government will die before they are born unless the citizens see their real power from the very first step on. On the other hand, random individuals may find themselves in the self-government councils at the first stage, and we also understood this.

Nonetheless, we took the risk. First elections to the self-government councils were held in our rayon in the spring of this year. The population remained quite indifferent. The old heartburn which house committees, courts of peers at the housing maintenance administration, and other endeavors of the administrative genius used to give them was a factor. However, the self-government councils were immediately given the right to determine the future of vacated rooms in communal apartments. This is a vital issue in our rayon with its 60 percent of communal apartments.

Bewilderment—who are they, after all?—was the first response. It is another matter if you deal with the executive committee with its customary attributes of power, and in the case of a rejection customarily vent your anger with "these damned bureaucrats" who certainly live in "mansions built of yellow bricks." In this case, neighbors from your house or yard solve your problem, neighbors who, unlike the officials, know how you live, and not from official documentation at all... They come to me and say with indignation: "I did not elect them!" "Why didn't you?" "Well, had I known that they would be resolving serious issues..." I usually give just one answer: In November, we are going to have new elections to the self-government organs, so do not make this mistake again, look for worthy people who will protect your interests.

We can now say that the tactic we have opted for has proven itself. The first step has aroused interest and the desire to take the second and third steps. Some self-government councils are already **demanding** that the rayon executive committee give them the right to allocate land lots for parking and transfer to them the funds earmarked for major housing repairs, that is, they want to assume the functions of a master in the microrayon.

Let me explain this using an example. In the second microrayon, there are many elderly single people with retirement benefits of less than 70 rubles per month. Chairman of the self-government council of the microrayon V.G. Fomenko came to the executive committee with the demand: "Give us an opportunity to evict from the ground floors the offices which are of no use to anybody; we will give them to cooperative members, will get some of their profits from them, and use the funds generated to improve the financial situation of single old people." However, the executive committee of the rayon soviet does not have such rights at present! The response was: "If you do not have them, try to secure them."

This "pressure from below" makes the demand to boost the independence of the rayon echelon into a need of the citizens of the rayon rather than a whim of this or that rayon executive committee. Self-government enables the people to partake of real politics and feel the indissoluble connection between rights and responsibilities. You do not want to allocate rooms for the employees of housing management? Fine. However, in this case try to find those from among your residents who will work there. Then we will not have to bring to Moscow people to work in the housing sector of the rayon, and allocate rooms to them. However, it has to be done one way or the other....

A little digression, but on basically the same topic. "The bakery shop effect": It has to be nearby, preferably right next door, but not in my house so that unloading at night would not bother me... It goes without saying that one may and should work so as not to wake people up, but let us imagine this: What if this bakery shop gives some of its rent to the residents of the building? What if the 4th Bus Depot the removal of which as far away as possible, to some Novo-Kosino, some residents of our rayon demand will become the property of not only the labor collective but also the residents whose interests will be represented by the Baumanskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies?

The further we proceed in grasping the principles of self-government, the more we encounter the key issue of any revolutionary transformation—relations of ownership. It is becoming clear that the self-government of local citizens is ultimately a form of implementing their collective right to socialist property. The term "communal property" is beginning to be mentioned increasingly often in the press and in the literature on the subject. However, it is clear even now that, unless the law on local self-government and local economy clearly sets forth the issues of communal property and indicates who owns it, this law may be complemented by a long succession of decrees beginning with the words "on the further expansion of the rights of local soviets," which actually will not have given anything to the soviets.

It is apparent in our case how important and how difficult it is to bind the interests of the residents and interests of employees of the rayon. In major cities, the development of rayons which are production shops and rayons which are bedrooms has become characteristic. As a rule, the populace does not associate its interests with those of production units located in its rayon. I think that the way out is found in this instance in creating a mixed form of ownership, ownership by the labor collective and by the populace (residents).

The collective of the "Pishchemash" Plant decided to buy out its enterprise in order to become a collective owner. The rayon soviet proposed to contribute funds to the buyout from the rayon budget. A proportionate share of the profits will accrue to the rayon. Incidentally, participation by the local authorities in ownership may be, perhaps, the best remedy for the arbitrariness of these authorities with regard to enterprises situated within their jurisdiction.

In general, everyone gets an opportunity. It is found not only in the quite real possibility of improving housing and financial conditions reasonably fast, which, of course is extremely important. However, it is no less significant that an individual finds a direct outlet into big politics and gains a field for social activism, for bringing out the latent (and thus far lost!) inclination to transform the surrounding world.

To be sure, at present our first councils of government are weak, despite having the rights of a corporate person and certain funds. However, their need to participate in solving the most acute problems of our everyday life has already become apparent. You would agree that these very councils of self-government, to which complete and reliable information is available, will be able to vigorously influence the election of deputies to the local soviets: As we know, at present the people are unintentionally doomed to vote "blindly," because they often have the most superficial impression of a particular candidate or simply fall into the trap of ringing promises.

When people begin to talk about their leaders in the third person, "them out there, at the top," this means that a break has occurred between the authorities and the people.

The consistently applied principle of self-government replaces the third person with the first: "We," which amounts to the recognition of one's own responsibility for the future of his home and his city. In the absence of this, responsibility for the future of the state is just a nice phrase.

Agricultural

Ligachev Addresses Agrarian Panel Session

PM1110150789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Oct 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "In the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Policy Commission: "Reducing Losses Is the Quick Way to Increase the Food Supply"]

[Text] A session of the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Policy Commission has been held, with Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in the chair. It examined the organizational work of leaders of ministries and departments, party, soviet, and economic organs, kolkhozes (collective farm) and sovkhozes (state farms), food, and other enterprises to eliminate losses of agricultural products during production, transportation, storage, and processing. There was also a discussion of measures to increase the production of compact equipment for lessees and family and peasant farms.

These problems have now become exceedingly acute. The study of the state of affairs by the commission members, involving site visits, confirms how important it is to work consistently and persistently, rather than episodically, in order to solve them. USSR ministers N.A. Pugin, V.M. Velichko, N.S. Konarev, N.V. Lemayev, and V.F. Konovalov; V.I. Chernoivanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases; and S.S. Drozd, Yu.A. Peskov, and A.D. Natsvlishvilli, who delivered reports, were taken to task for failing to implement party and government decisions.

According to USSR State Committee for Statistics (Goskomstat) data, around 29 million tonnes of grain annually fails to reach storage facilities and nearly 1 million tonnes of meat is irretrievably lost. One-fourth of the potato and vegetable harvest fails to reach the consumer. Scientists reckon that products worth R22-25 billion are lost annually.

As well as organizational failures and mismanagement, one of the main causes is the poor technical standard of the agro-industrial production material base and the lack of highly productive, reliable machinery and equipment. Commission members Ye.Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee; I.G. Grintsov, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; party kray or oblast committee first secretaries I.K. Polozkov (Krasnodar), V.M. Volodin (Rostov), A.F. Ponomarev (Belgorod), V.K. Mesyats (Moscow), and N.F. Tatarchuk (Kalinin); M.B. Ryzhikov, secretary of the AUCCTU and chairman of the Agro-Industrial Complex Workers Trade Union Central Committee; V.V. Sakalauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers; and others, having sharply criticized specific individuals responsible for tackling questions concerned with providing the agro-industrial complex with effective harvesting equipment, equipment for processing sectors, refrigerator facilities, specialized transport, and packaging, shared their views on restructuring the work of the relevant departments and poroduction associations.

O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; I.S. Silayev and P.I. Mostovoy, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; F.V. Popov, first secretary of Altay CPSU Kray Committee; A.A. Nikonov, president of the All-Union V.I. Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences; and A.P. Napolnov, general director of the Moscow Machine Building Production Association named for V.V. Chernyshev; participated in the discussion of these matters and made constructive proposals.

The development of family and peasant farms and the growth of agricultural production on them is being inhibited by the intolerably small volume of production of compact equipment for labor mechnization purposes. It is necessary to produce hundreds of thousands of minitractors and power units, milking and shearing equipment, and other items.

It was recommended that the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases, the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Machine Building, and the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Military Industrial Matters join the USSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan], and USSR and union republic ministries and departments in clarifying programs for the retooling of agriculture and the processing sectors involving the creation of a range of machinery and equipment, refrigerator facilities, and specialized transport ensuring the safety and thorough processing of agricultural raw material. To this end it is necessary to accelerate the integration of scientific research and planning and design organizations, defense sectors, and the agro-industrial complex.

The commission's members made a principled party assessment of identified instances of irresponsibility on the part of some working people toward the implementation of decisions. Party committees of the USSR Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building and USSR Ministry of Railways were told to examine in this connection the question of the personal responsibility of specific communists and announce the results in the press.

There was backing for the 1989-1995 intersector program on the production of compact equipment for lessees and family and peasant farms, which envisages increasing the prodcution of small-scale mechanization facilities by more than 300 percent in the 13th 5-year plan.

Summing up the discussion, Ye.K. Ligachev stressed that in the practical implementation of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) plenum, the implementation of measures to keep products safe throughout the production process—from production to consumer—is a very important factor in the rapid growth of food resources. Our country uses 30 percent more agricultural raw material to produce one unit of food than the developed countries. It is worth looking at the elaboration and implementation of comprehensive programs on this problem at the level of republics, krays, oblasts, rayons, and farms and the accumulation and communication of positive experience. Special attention must be paid to the quality of refrigerator and food equipment. This should be an issue of special importance for party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organizations and management and planning organs. Labor collectives in agriculture, machine building, transport, storage facilities, the processing industry, and scientific organizations; in short, all participants and components of the food process must devote all their efforts to this. It is a matter that involves millions of people, the CPSU Cental Committee secretary stressed.

Ye.S. Stroyev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; I.I. Skiba, chief of the CPSU Central Committee

Agrarian Department; V.V. Nikitin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Commission for Food and Purchases; I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR ministries and departments participated in the commission's work.

Defense Conversion to Agricultural Complex Cited

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[Text] Moscow October 11 TASS—Defence industries' contribution to the development of the Soviet agro-industrial complex was discussed by the Council of Ministers' commission on military and industrial questions here today. The speakers were captains of industries reporting on implementation of this year's national programme to provide new equipment for the manufacturing sectors of the agro-industrial complex.

The defence complex's attempted marriage with science and practical needs is turning sour. Igor Belousov, Soviet deputy premier and head of the commission, said that the defence complex is capable of achieving a breakthrough in processing industry.

The only thing needed today, he said, is to adopt emergency measures to match the tense situation with the food supply in the country.

The commission adopted a decision listing these emergency measures.

Party secretaries Oleg Baklanov and Egor Stroyev attended the meeting.